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**BETWEEN NATIONAL
MOBILIZATION AND SOCIAL
RESPONSIBILITY: A CASE STUDY
OF RED CROSS MOVEMENT IN
CHINA**

CHENG YUANJUN

Ph.D

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

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The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

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**Between National Mobilization and
Social Responsibility: A Case Study
of Red Cross Movement in China**

by

CHENG Yuanjun

A thesis submitted

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

April 2012

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

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_____ (Signed)

_____ Cheng Yuanjun _____ (Name of student)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation briefly discusses the survival and development of the Red Cross Society of China (RCSC) as a case to reveal changes of fund-raising and resources mobilization, and uncovers some of? for autonomy between the government behavior and social behavior, and how the “Chinese Style” voluntaries emerged in the realm of public welfare activism. Founded in 1904 in Shanghai, from 1949 up to 2010, the RCSC had over 910000 local branches across China, and has become the largest non-profit humanitarian organization in mainland China, as well as the collective memory of Chinese society. Therefore, when “RCSC phenomenon” becomes a social fact, and real life experience to Chinese people in daily living, the investigation on the survival and development of “RCSC experience” is the focus of this study. “RCSC experience” is an inalienable part of “Chinese experiences”. Despite its precious “Chinese experiences” and its “Chinese characteristics”, this organization and characteristics of the RCSC have never been examined closely, thoroughly or systematically by scholars.

This study mainly adopted a case study method, supplemented with 15 focused interviews, tracing the development of the RCSC from 1949 to 2010. The development of China Red Cross movement reveals the changing patterns of government mobilization after 1949 in Peoples Republication of China, from sustained national mobilization, engaging policy support, to increasingly public participation. The author charts those shifts in resource mobilization, reinvented organization, straightening out relationships, and map out expansion of humanitarian sphere. Evolution of strong reciprocity relationship between the RCSC and the government caught the consequences that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) take root in the RCSC to become China’s most enduring social welfare institution foundation, still operating today. Finally, the author demonstrates how the “Chinese Style” voluntaries emerged in the realm

of public welfare activism, and in the case of the RCSC, did so with strong reciprocity cooperation within the government.

A universal precept in most of the existing western literature is that NGOs are often in fundamental conflict with the authoritarian system in which they operate; and such discordances are reflected both in their structures and functions. The Red Cross movement in China, however, did not emerge and grow as an anti- or counter- government power. From NPO survivability perspectives, relationship between Chinese government and the RCSC has been undergoing significant and profound readjustments from a reluctant partnership to policy tool, and gradually developing along the line of institutionalization. This investigation into the politics of humanitarianism reveals that the humanitarian problem cannot be solved solely in humanitarian way, isomorphism is a constraining process, and neutrality is not an apolitical characterizer. The RCSC and the government are always interactional, and constantly evolve together, thus forming a “symbiosis network”. The political trait of their interactional relationship and of its mobilizing pattern determines that the RCSC has to be affiliated to the government instead of being equal in their partnership. This relationship reflects the existing situation of all NGOs in China.

This research work also contributes to current scholarship on the rise of “Chinese characteristics”. This study elaborates the social foundation of the RCSC, culture context of humanity, and institutional context of the RCSC in detail. Furthermore, it summarizes “Chinese Characteristics” of RCSC in terms of an “Anaclitic choice”, and forms Hybrids Organizational Patterns. These findings challenge assertions that China NGOs “would push irreversibly the Chinese society forward to the Civil Society”. One concern is that the RCSC might lose its distinctiveness in its constant assimilation with the government.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

It was an unexpected surprise. On Oct. 26th, 1996, one Saturday afternoon, I invited Mr. Mao Sanyuan, executive vice president of the Red Cross Society of China (RCSC) Hubei branch, to give a lecture in Wuhan University of Technology on the present state of the RC societies in China. In his lecture, I gradually learned several basic facts about the Red Cross (RC) societies: the RC movement is made up of International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), and national Red Cross or Red Crescent Societies (RC societies for short). Started in the year 1863, the international RC movement has experienced a history of over 150 years so far. The Red Cross idea of “expanding showing mercy and doing good deeds into the humanitarian mission and making it a capacity of conducting continuous actions” (Zeng Yan, 2009:60—67) put forward by Henri Dunant is accepted by 186 countries and regions in the world. The RC movement has already grown into a global movement.

The RC movement in China, started in the year 1904, boasts a history of 106 years. The Red Cross Society of China (RCSC) is the most long-standing non-governmental organization in China, and also the largest public welfare organization continuously developing till today. Much of what the ICRC did in China was not new to China; what was new was “China’s RC cause in an integral part of socialism with Chinese characteristics” (Peng Peiyun,2007) ..

The development of Red Cross societies in China is similar to the destiny of modern China, which has grown through the vicissitudes of life with one change following another. The RCSC was first initiated by gentry-merchants in civil society, then accepted by the government and finally became one of largest non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in China. The nature of the organization shifted from a charity relief organization (before 1949) to

“People’s Health Care Organization” (1950) and to “Social Relief Organization Conducting Humanitarian Work” (1993). Its development has not been smooth. The local branches of the Chinese Red Cross Society has grown from a single one at the very beginning to 80 membership in 1949, with a membership of 3,000,000. During “the 10-year Cultural Revolution” (1966—1978), the RCSC branches at each local level were merged or rescinded and all the developing work stopped. Up to 2007, there had been altogether 91,000 RCSC local branches over China, with a membership of 25.85 million (among whom 13.8 million are juvenile members) and with 568 thousand RCSC volunteers¹. No other non-governmental organization boasts such a large scale, nor has such an experience full of twists and turns.

I once tried to ask some of my classmates, friends and students, “What kind of organization is the RCSC?” Their answers were quite interesting, “if regarded as a non-governmental organization, it is also similar to a department of the government as well; if regarded as a governmental department, it also collects donations as well”, “or it should be a non-governmental organization, but actually depends on the government”. According to the executive vice president of the RCSC headquarter Jiang Yiman, “the RCSC is a non-profit public welfare organization with independent legal entity, which has neither the government’s administrative power, nor the economic power of the profit-oriented organizations.” However, what is interesting here is why and how “secretary of the Party leadership group of the RC society” is printed on their name cards? And why does the Communist Party of China (CPC) set up their organizations within the RCSC? What is its relationship with the CPC?

With my further observation, lack of money becomes its major problem. Although different from other grass-root organizations having problem in “registering” into the legal organizations, however, RCSC says that they are “so

¹ http://www.redcross.org.cn/hszsy/zjs/zfz/200806/t20080622_18553.html

poor to have anything except love”. In 2007, the RCSC once entrusted/invited Professor Wang Ming from Tsinghua University to do a national survey, which shows that “difficulty in fund-raising and lack of money is one of the largest problems faced by RC branches at all levels”².

The more I learn about the RCSC, the more questions I have for it as well. Later, I visited the executive vice president of the RCSC Hubei branch for many times, but I never met the president. I asked who the president was and got the answer: “the president is our vice governor of Hubei province. He is quite busy; of course you cannot see him.” I became all the more confused; he was the executive vice president while enjoying the treatment of civil servants, with an administrative ranking of department level. He declared to others that it was a non-governmental organization or non-profit public welfare organization. This all at once disturbed my understanding on non-governmental organizations in China that they are not operating in the way their Western counterparts do, but some of their actions and operating mechanism are indeed different from neither the government nor enterprises. In this case, what is its administrative/management system? What role does it play? How does it evolve and so much about the RCSC Enterprise with Chinese characteristics finally orbit? All these bring about my passion in further research.

1. Development of NGOs in Mainland China

1.1 Historiography

In China, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have a shorter history than in developed parts of the world. At the moment, there is no genuinely “independent” sector. They are referred to as “social organizations,” or “mass organizations.” Throughout the history of Communist China, unofficial and

²See Wang Ming etc. “Public Welfare Cause in the Transitional Period of China----the development of the RCSC 2005—2009”, mid-term evaluation Reports, Internal documents of the RCSC, Dec. 2007.

non-governmental organizations have been severely restricted, especially political organizations, which frequently came under attack. According to the Confucius, “the superior man avoids partisan associations” virtually took on the force of a political maxim. In the early 20th Century, thinkers such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao particularly stressed the importance of forming scholarly associations and establishing relations with strong countries with enlightened populations. They believed that the strict prohibition of associations sapped the spirit of the people, and this was the cause of China’s weakness (Xu, 2006). While there still were a number of civil organizations in traditional society, such as guilds, associations of people from the same locality in other parts of the country, associations of clan members in the same village, and various kinds of mutual assistance associations these kinds of groups were very different from non-governmental organizations as they are presently understood, and the vast majority of them had no connections with the government³.

Since China’s reform and opening up and the accompanying development of the market economy and democracy, one of the significant developments of Chinese society in the past three decades has been the emergence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) whose influence on the political and economic life of society is deepening by the day. For example, in the 1950s there were only 44 national mass organizations, and by 1965 the number had not yet reached over 100 with 6000 local mass organizations. By 1997, the number of county-level or higher social associations reached 180,000, of which 21,404 were provincial-level and 1848 were national-level, and in 1998, there were more than 700,000 civilian run non-enterprise units (source: government statistical data, 1999). According to statistics on March 31, 2005, there were a

³ See Chinese Association Research Society: “History of the Development of Chinese society”. Contemporary China Publishing House, 2001, p.184. Zhu Ying editor: “Modern Chinese Association and Chinese Guild”. Beijing: China RenMin University Press, 2004. Ma Min “between Officials and Businessmen: Modern gentries of social upheaval”. Tianjin People’s publishing House, 1995.

total of 171,000 social associations of all kinds, 148,000 civilian run non-enterprise units and 975 foundations in China⁴. However, in 2010, there were a total of 245,000 social associations of all kinds, 198,000 civilian run non-enterprise units and 2,200 foundations in China⁵.

Figure 1 and Table 1 below explicitly show the increasing trend and changes at different phases of the development of civil organizations.

Table 1 Development Data of Social Organizations

Quota	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Social organizations (10 thousand)	13.3	14.2	15.3	17.1	19.2	21.2	23.0	23.9	24.5
Private non-enterprises (10 thousand)	11.1	12.4	13.5	14.8	16.1	17.4	18.2	19	19.8
Foundations (number)		954	892	975	1144	1340	1597	1843	2200

Notes: because the annual survey on social organizations finishes in the end of June each year, the data of social organizations is the one of the year 2009. Source of information: Ministry of Civil Affairs of the People's Republic of China website: www.mca.gov.cn/mztj/.

According to the latest statistics from Ministry of Civil Affairs, till the end of 2010, there are 445,200 civil organizations of various types all over the country, an increase of 3.5% over the previous year; among them, there are 245,000

⁴ Resource come from Ministry of civil affairs document China civil affairs yearbook 1999, China social Press. " Civil government statistical data from ministry of civil affairs website: <http://www.mca.gov.cn/mztj/>

⁵ Civil Government Statistical data for the first quarter of 2005, Ministry of Civil Affairs website: <http://www.Cws.mca.gov.cn/accessory/200806/>

social organizations, an increase of 2.5% over the previous year; 198,000 private non-enterprise units, an increase of 4.2%; 2,200,000 foundations, an increase of 19.4%. Obviously the Red Cross Society of China (RCSC) is not included here since it is exempt from registration and thus is not in the statistical range of Ministry of Civil Affairs.

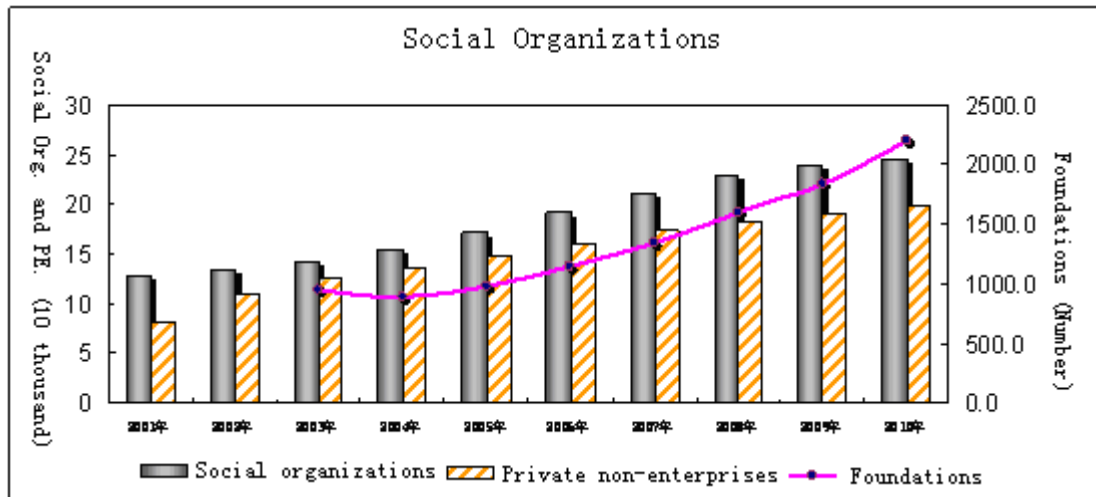


Figure 1 Development Trend of Social Organizations

Source of information: Ministry of Civil Affairs of the People's Republic of China website: www.mca.gov.cn/mztj/.

The business of these social organizations covers all social fields including technology, education, culture, health, labor, civil affairs, sports, environmental protection, legal services, social intermediary services, work injury services, rural professional economy and so on. On the other hand, they are admitting employment of 4.758 million staff of various types, an increase of 18.2% over the previous year.

While this kind of quiet “revolution” has been going on in China, little of it has been reported to the outside world. Social scientists believe that a country’s progress toward a more open, pluralistic and competitive political system is dependent on whether the country allows NGOs to emerge. While the concept

of NGOs is an abstract notion covering a wide variety of social dynamics, the crucial measure of its presence in any nation is the ability of NGOs to progress and develop. At this point, China is experiencing these sorts of dynamic social changes, indicating that NGOs is indeed emerging.

1.2 The RCSC and NGOs in China

During the development of China's social organizations, indeed there seldom are organizations of the scale of the RCSC, founded in 1904 in Shanghai; up to now, the RCSC is over 100 years old, and has over 91 thousand RCSC' local branches spread across China. By comparison with ordinary NGOs, the RCSC is a social organization exempt from registration, thus obviously different from ordinary social organizations, which mainly manifests in the aspects as follows:

1) Different in systematic resources. The status of the RC society is stipulated by the law, for an example "the Red Cross Law"; while ordinary civil organizations do not enjoy special legal status, without correspondent systematic resources.

2) Different in traditional cultural foundations. Just as the tradition of the Chinese nation is the readiness to help others, the tradition of the RCSC is humanitarianism. The American Doctoral Degree scholar Caroline Beth Reeves study shows that the RCSC compromises the merits of Chinese and Western styles, integrating Western organizational template and humanitarian mission with Chinese philanthropy, both conceptually and concretely. This organization merged Chinese and international, traditional and modern while keeping its own features (Caroline B. Reeves, 1998).

3) Different in economic powers. Comparatively speaking, the RCSC has a strong economic power that can attract more members and do more practical deeds, and thus is easier to attract attention of the society.

4) Different in leaders' prestige. President of the RCSC is the vice chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress of People's Republic of China (NPC), and its Honorary President is the leader of the CPC and the country. Its influence is unparalleled by other civil organizations. Its major leaders usually have high personal prestige. Many council members of the RCSC are senior governmental officials retired from authority departments or are experts themselves with strong professional abilities. Without a powerful leader, any civil organization can hardly get such influence and force in spite of conditions listed above.

However, the RCSC is similar to the other NGOs in predicaments in survival and development. According to the current documents there are eight predicaments in development of the social organizations in present China (He, 2006). In this case, among all these problems, the RCSC is faced with all predicaments except "predicament in registration". In 2007, Wang Ming found out six weaknesses on the basis of the overall investigation on the RCSC⁶:

- 1) There is strong administrative flavor in its management system. Its excessive dependence on the government and the government's excessive intervention lead to its weak autonomy;
- 2) The management structure of the executive council is not perfect, and the degree of institutionalization is rather weak; the decision-making organization of the RCSC is executive council, but the majority of executive council members are governmental officials. Most of them are under the nominal category and even never attend the council meetings. Presidents of RCSC at provincial levels are mainly deputies of the local government working part-time, who are in charge of other work and are quite restricted in doing the actual RC work in person;

⁶See Wang Ming etc. "Public Welfare Cause in the Transitional Period of China----the development of the RCSC 2005—2009", mid-term evaluation Reports, Internal documents of the RCSC, Dec. 2007.

3) The capacity in fund-raising is not enough and the fund-raising mechanism and system are not complete. The RCSC are lacking in stable and regular fund sources;

4) Project management lacks the standard and professional project management methods, which undermines the operating potential of projects;

5) There are very few RCSC staff members, with a large mobility. It lacks excitement and competitive mechanisms within the organization, which is not good for attracting and retaining talents. The overall competence of human resources is not high;

6) The number of activities that its members take part in is relatively small. The role of its members is not fully displayed. There are difficulties in collecting membership fees and so on.

In brief, lack of vigor and vitality seriously affect the survival and the development of the RCSC. The President Peng Peiyun(2007) said that, “we are 100-year RCSC, but still in initial stage”.

In fact , survivability is a long-standing problem in non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Without needed resources, organizational growth and successful long-term pursuit of its mission will not be possible (Senge, 1990; Van der Heijden, 1996; Eden and Ackermann, 1998; Bryson, Gibbons and Shaye, 2001). There are two significant facts. They are: NGOs possess a value base that drives them to act on the altruistic motives, and incidence of altruism varies greatly (Hudock, 1999:21); as the myth of altruism is propagated that NGOs are somehow organizationally unique and operating on a value base, rather than on organizational imperatives like survival. This obscured the true complexity of NGOs situation with respect to acquiring resources, moreover, this absolutely contradicts one of the key tenets of organizational analysis,

namely that organizational survival is every organization's goal, and organizational survival is met through self-serving behaviors, this implicate how NGOs acquire resources, especially how to face with potential competitors.

Second, that the search for resources shift NGOs away from any value base that they did possess. For example, research on four of the leading child sponsorship organizations by the Chicago Tribune conducting a year-long inquiry found that many NGOs continue with child sponsorship strategies, which failed to keep the basic promise that they could make a positive and lasting change in the life of a sponsored child. In other words, it was the need for resources that drove the marketing campaigns, not the welfare of the child (Anderson, 1998, cited in Hudock, 1999:22).

These facts are not unrelated. Many NGOs operating in environments subject to considerable uncertainty over sources of funding, whether governmental or private (DiMaggio and Anheier 1990; Grønbjerg 1993). A nonprofit organization must find some way to address important social needs and stakeholder interests (Salamon, 1992; Oster, 1995), so that the organization will be self-sustaining over the long haul, or else the organization will not survive and grow, let alone prosper and achieve its mission. They have reacted strategically in various ways to these circumstances (Clarke and Estes 1992; Oliver 1991); such as co-opt competitors (Galaskiewicz and Bielefeld 1998), diversify into less competitive areas (Alexander 1998) and attempt to differentiate themselves from competitors (Barman 2002).

As for the RCSC, ever since the overall reorganization of the RCSC in August 1950 and after the international RC society got the legal position, the major problem faced by the RC society of the new China was: how to carry out services and to develop? At that time, the RCSC was embedded in a heated debate of “whether or not to develop branches and carry out services in China”,

and whether it should develop in a “larger or smaller scale”. At last, Premier Zhou Enlai instructed to make an “appropriate development” (Zhu, 2006:898). China’s RC movement gradually connected with socialist construction. After the reform and opening up, the developing objectives of the RCSC was clearly stipulated: to build a RCSC enterprise with Chinese characteristics. Former President of the RCSC Peng Peiyun emphasized again and again, “China’s RCSC enterprise is an integral part of socialism with Chinese characteristics”⁷.

What I am quite curious about is that social organizations in China still make great achievements in spite of such great problems. How do they overcome all those predicaments? How do they gradually connect with socialist construction, and build a RCSC enterprise with Chinese characteristics?

1.3 “Chinese-styled” Development of Chinese NGOs

Those changes brought about by the 30 years’ reform and opening up in China are more than unprecedented both for China and for the world, and the experiences of China’s reform and opening up have already attracted attentions and researches of many professionals. These researches unveil one basic fact: when China is creating a “Chinese miracle”, a large number of civil/non-governmental organizations (social organizations) will emerge in China, and they will soon become an important part of the world “revolution of association forming” (Wang Shaoguang, 2007), the development of China’s social organizations left a lot of precious “Chinese experiences” and formed a development road with Chinese characteristics.

One fact that cannot be neglected is that at the same time China’s development is achieved under the leadership of the CPC by following socialist road with Chinese characteristics. This kind of development experience or pattern is an

⁷ See Peng Peiyun: Speech on the symposium of the RCSC Volunteer Work, Internal documents of the RCSC, Dec.24,2007.

important one among those diversified development patterns of social organizations in modern world. Originated in China, a socialist country, a developing country and a country in the midst of social transformation, it must have its own specialties that are different from other countries' development patterns.

Making a comprehensive survey on these empirical studies, we can find out that there are three basic consensuses for the development of China's social organizations. They are:

(1) Social organizations cannot develop without reforms in economic and political systems. Therefore, economic and political factors are the two major driving forces promoting the development of social organizations. For example, Wang Ming and others (2008:13) regard this as the result of the government's promotion of association-forming "from top to bottom". Monographic studies on the State Council development research center, national development and reform commissions, World Bank and etc. (Cheng Siwei, 2005, 2000:20-24) have pointed out the great achievements made by the reform aiming at "pushing Public Service Units into the market."

(2) China's social organizations have a specific "government-civil duality". The great majority of China's civil organizations are constructed and dominated by the government, especially those gone through legal registration and of great influence, such as all kinds of industry organizations, trade organizations, research groups, interest groups and so on. For example, the book *Social Middle Stratum*, written by Wang Ying (1993), categorized China's social organizations into three types such as government, half government running and private/non-government running organizations; Moreover, Sun Bingyao(1994) and Kang Xiaoguang(1999) put forward respectively propositions of "government-civil duality" and "duality".

(3) They go beyond the state/society and corporatism/civil society frameworks

to explain the idiosyncratic nature of associational life in China (Jonathan Unger, 2008). For example, Gordon White, Jude Howell and Shang Xiaoyuan(1996), made an empirical research on China's social organizations in 1991—1993, points out that the “Association Revolution” in China is the result of China's market reforms and social vicissitudes; and the development of social organizations is driving China towards a civil society. Jia Xijin(2003) put forward three developing roads of China's civil society: the type from top to bottom, the type from bottom to top and the cooperative type.

Most researches, however, mainly focus on the transformation of the relation between the nation and the society. It has not fundamentally touched the “Chinese pattern” of the development of China's social organizations.

These researches either focus excessively on their specialties, or regard that there is no NGOs in China completely conforming to western standards, that is, can only be called as “China's NGO” (Kang Xiaoguang, 2001). Thus, just as the chief representative of Ford Foundation (subsidizing Chinese scholars to do academic researches over a long period of time) Beijing Office John Fitzgerald (2008) said, “from a more extensive theoretical or from a more general sense, the empirical studies on Chinese experiences have not left a deep impression on international academic society”(Fejohn, 2008:2).

To sum up, the development of China's social organizations left a lot of precious “Chinese experiences” and formed a development road with Chinese characteristics. Based on special characteristics, it can be summarized from different perspectives. These are the main targets I want to through my research. They are; what exactly is the “Chinese experiences” in the development of social organizations? How has it developed and what will it be like in future? Does it have vitality? All these questions have had no profound and penetrating systematic study.

2. Aims of the Thesis

This dissertation discusses survival and development of the RCSC, and how these factors of organizational environments are structured within one organization (RCSC) to better understand structural tensions between the logics within social service hybrid organizations more generally. There is an obvious gap between the form of the RCSC and its actual operating logic. What are the generating logic and the institutional foundation of this phenomenon of disagreement? The RCSC is striving for the construction of “China’s RC cause with Chinese characteristics, but what are the “characteristics”? Why is it like this? What is the impact it has on the formation of China’s civil society?

In general, NGOs is a preset that is in fundamental conflict with the authoritarian system, whether structurally or functionally⁸. Compatibility of social service mission, social control, and commercial goals in one organization (for example: the RCSC and the CPC), and the business side functions as a technical organization with tightly coupled technologies. Moreover the social service side functions as an institutionalized organization with loosely coupled technologies. This research mainly achieved the following targets. They are; (a) identify challenges presented by the changing environment; (b) review how their organizational goals and programs were changing in response to these challenges; (c) discuss the ways in which NGO organizational structures were evolving in response to calls for broader participation with larger numbers of affiliates, cost pressures, competition, and other changes; and (d) consider ways in which international NGOs might cooperate more closely.

Specifically, this research is trying to discuss from the perspective of system

⁸ See Alexis de Tocqueville (2000) : Democracy in America, Bantam Books. And Robert Alan Dahl, 2006, A Preface to Democratic Theory ,university of Chicago press, new edition in 2006: 227.

changes, centering mainly on the following five aspects: 1) organizing systems of social organizations; 2) operating mechanism; 3) the relationship with CPC and the government; 4) the capacity on resource mobilization; 5) cultivation on voluntary services and voluntary spirits. Finally the research will analyze and discuss the influence that the development of the RC societies has on the formation of China's civil society.

This study uses the survival and development of the RCSC to reveal changing patterns of fund-raising and resources mobilization in historical perspective and uncovers some of shift bases for autonomy between the government behavior and social behavior. In this context it mainly shows how the Red Cross of China operates between the government and the market, when they encounter immense strains, such as “vendorism” or the distortion of agency missions in pursuit of available government funding and commercial partnerships, and a resulting loss of the flexibility and mission drift (Salamon, 1987 p.113, 1989:3--22). I chart this shift in reinvented Organization from business independence to organizational independence, and map out expansion of Humanitarian Sphere. I chart evolution of strong reciprocity relationship between the RCSC and the government, and also explain why the CPC take root in the RCSC to become China's most enduring social welfare institution foundation, still operating even today. Finally, I demonstrate how the “China Style” Voluntaries emerged in the realm of public welfare activism, and in the case of the RCSC, did so with strong reciprocity cooperation within the government.

This work on the RCSC not only contributes to current scholarship on the rise of “Chinese pattern”, “Chinese road”, “Chinese development”, “Chinese characteristics” in the world, an issue of central importance in today's era of emerging developing nations, but also reveals the growth of alternative loci of NGOs in China, strong reciprocity cooperation with the state by altruism, and

also provide another possibility for the development of “civil society” in China.

3. Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation proceeds in seven chapters. Chapter one provides a summary of the existing literature on the RCSC and Chinese NGOs. It also discusses theoretical literature on resource-dependence, Neo-institutionalism, political economy and the inter-organizational relational perspective. After reviewing five theoretical perspectives and empirical literatures approaches to the NGOs, it investigates the limitation of existing literatures and sets up a scheme of analysis frame.

Chapter two continues to explore research methodology and research design, and introduce The RCSC as a case.

Chapter three describes the fund-raising and resources mobilization of the RCSC using the RCSC before 1949 and after 1949 as a case study to examine how the RCSC mobilized the social resources. This section examines survival logic and development logic of the RCSC; the Red Cross idea became “bridge”, which resonated with the tradition of charity in China and modern humanitarian mission. It is this interplay between the National Mobilization and the Social Responsibility which creates modern philanthropic idea; it is this interactive process which creates “decisive” relationship structure. This structure is “decided” by the state power.

The fourth chapter describes processes of the RCSC reinvention since the reform and opening up. This section delves into management system of the RCSC and organizational autonomy using evolution of “Statute of the RCSC” as a case study to examine how the RCSC achieved independence from the government.

Chapter five investigates relationship between the RCSC and the CPC because of “decisive” relationship structure by the CPC. “We must adhere to the party's leadership.” This may be the biggest characteristic of the RCSC.

Chapter six reveals how the RCSC continuously expand its service sphere, from the emergency relief to the development relief - the reason, the pattern and characteristics. This shows that the service provided by the RCSC is actually an extension of some government's functions and a kind of functional substitution. Under this kind of circumstance, the RCSC can not only survive but also continue to grow. The Western theory of organization transformation, emphasizing on the three aspects of internal pressure, pressure from resources and power of imitation, seems not enough to explain the above questions. My investigation shows that the expansion of the RCSC service sphere depends not sufficiently on pressure, but more importantly on the driving and pulling force.

The final chapter explores the theme of “volunteer service”, examining the blend of different strains of volunteer service, east and west. The Red Cross is an institution providing voluntary assistance. This chapter examines mobilization system of China's Red Cross volunteer service in which the social needs and the state's power can effectively achieve communication and integration. This mobilization system, not only meets the government-led governance needs of the Party and government, but also enables the further development and survival space of the Red Cross organizations. Finally, in the conclusion, the three major themes of the dissertation are reviewed: Chinese Characteristics, institutional cooperation, and social infrastructure in social construction.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The first part of this chapter provides a summary of the existing literature on the RCSC and Chinese NGOs. In the first part, the literatures in Chinese and in English is summarized in two separate sections, as which are distinct in many aspects. After reviewing five theoretical perspectives and empirical literatures approaches to the NGOs, the second part of the chapter investigates limitation of existing literatures, and introduce the analytical framework for the thesis.

1. How to Understand Chinese NGOs and its Development

1.1 Civil Society, Corporatism and Institutional Analysis

The English-language literature on Chinese NGOs mainly concerned with broad issues such as state-society relations and the political and social consequences of market reforms. Most study by overseas scholars often employ the notion of civil society and corporatism as their analytical framework (Whiting 1991; Shue 1994; White 1994; Howell 1996, 1998; Nevitt 1996; Unger and Chan 1996).

In fact, “civil society” is quite an equivocal notion. Its equivocality primarily lies in its ambiguous definition of the word “civil”. Its various definitions result in two conceptions. Firstly, “civil” can refer to the rational social citizens who are willing to participate in the public affairs, i.e., citizenship with civic awareness; secondly, “civil” can be defined as the public space in which citizens are involved in the discussions about their social as well as daily lives, equivalent to the so-called “Public Sphere” proposed by Habermas (1989 and 2001), which means the activity space where citizens can discuss the public affairs and participate in politics freely.

However, the discrepancy in a society’s organizational mode leads to its second

ambiguity. The modern society, as a society of organizations, is composed of three indispensable sectors: the government departments subject to the State, the privacy sector organized by market and the third sector consisting of NGOs and NPOs. Among the three mentioned above, if the State's power is too overwhelming, an autarchy would occur; if the market power surpasses the other two, commercialization tendency would reveal itself; similarly, if the strength of the third sector became formidable enough for them to be independently managed, disorders would happen. It is called an ideal society. (Satia, 2007:3).

In this sense, the growth of the NGOs and a series of social changes ensued can be regarded as a gradual strengthening of the “civil society” (Edwards, 2004), regarded as an open, evolutionary developing course by many Chinese and Western scholars in their discussion of the evolution of China's NGOs. White Gordon, Jude Howell, Shang Xiaoyuan (1996) tried to seek for the “civil society” in China from her market reforms and social changes; Wang Shaoguang and He Jianyu (2004) drew a “route chart” for the evolution of China's mass organizations; Andrew Watson (2007) suggested that a transitional civil society would emerge in the transforming China in his study on the emergence of Chinese mass organizations and their social functions; scholars like Wang Ming (2009:5) affirmed that the development of the social organizations in the past three decades is pushing Chinese society irreversibly forward to a maturation of a civil society despite of the challenges as well as opportunities they might meet in their development and the unpredictability of their development direction.

In practice, many Chinese NGOs are hybrid organizations in which state and society are interwoven (Lu 2009: 11). Moreover, some researchers overlook the frequent blurring of the boundary between them in contemporary China. Hence, as some scholars point out, Chinese NGOs “have neither an explicit nor an

implicit democratic programme” (Howell 1998:72). They “do not serve as forums for critical public discussion of political affairs” (ibid.71) and the internal culture of these organizations hardly embody any democratic spirit. They find that Chinese NGOs often perform better as the state’s instrument of control over social group than as mechanisms for expressing and pursuing the interests of the latter (White 1994; Nevitt 1996; Yep 2000).

This seems to suggest that corporatism is a more adequate tool for analyzing Chinese NGOs (Lu 2009:12). As Yep (2000) point out, corporatism is essentially a system of interest representation that involves political exchange between the state and organized social interests. For corporatism to work there must be effective mechanisms for aggregating and communicating social interests. Hence, whether corporatism accurately describes the relationship between state and Chinese NGOs that have come into being in the reform era is still in dispute (Yep 2000; Foster 2002). Ma (2006) proposes a way out: applying both civil society and corporatism simultaneously. She argues that economic NGOs that organized top-down fit the corporatism model, while those that are organized bottom-up should be viewed through the civil society model. As Lu (2009) point out, “even if it has some heuristic value in understanding business association in China, it is hard to see how the concept can aid our study of NGOs in the classical sense, namely organizations working for social and economic development that may or may not be membership organizations” (Lu 2009:27).

Nevitt argues that the state-society paradigm is less useful than “an institutional focus” for understanding Chinese NGOs, by which he means “a focus on the changing incentives and behavior within the institutions of the party-state” (Nevitt 1996:41). Institutional analysis as exemplified by the works of Nevitt, Unger (1996) and Wank (1995) help to explain why Chinese NGOs without legal statue can still survive, and even thrive, in China despite the government’s

attempt to control such organizations. For example, Lu (2009) discusses the current position of NGOs within China, and demonstrates pattern of NGO—state relations in contemporary China in the notion of “dependent autonomy” (Lu, 2009: 27), he argues that although all Chinese NGOs—both those originating as a result of government initiatives, and those that are popularly organized—are dependent on the state, all enjoy a very high degree of autonomy.

1.2 “Chinese Characteristics”

“Dependent Autonomy” is very useful in facilitating our understanding of these organizations in China. However, nonprofit organizations in China are very different from those in the West. Compared with Western countries, China’s nonprofit organizations are still very immature, and in the process of being formed and have a transitional nature; their characteristics have not been normalized, and the stages of development for different organizations are very uneven (Yu, 2006; Sun, 2002). On the one hand, a number of nonprofit organizations are guided and controlled by the government and are not as independent, voluntary and non-profit-distributing as nonprofit organizations are supposed to be; moreover, some nonprofit organizations are quite hierarchical social associations, they have the authorized size of personnel, enjoy corresponding hierarchy and perform some functions of administration.

Therefore, whatever autonomy the Chinese NGOs enjoy, it is mainly **not** “in part because of the limited capacity of central government to control NGOs”, and **not** “in part because of the fragmented and non-monolithic nature of the state, which enables individual bureaucratic patrons to protect particular NGOs (especially officially organized ones) from the full impact of state control” (Lu, 2009: xi). Rather, it is the support and encouragement from government that gives autonomy to them in the first place, and this especially applies to

officially organized NGOs.

The development of Chinese NGOs left a lot of precious “Chinese experiences” and formed a development road with Chinese characteristics after the reforms, which the particular characteristics of NGOs were caused by the condition of post-reform China. For example, the book *Social Middle Stratum*(1993), written by Wang Ying, divides China’s social organizations into three types: government running, half government running, and private/non-government running organizations, which seems to lay excessive stress on the nature and the function of governmental domination. Jia Xijin (2003) put forward three developing roads of China’s civil society: the type from top to bottom, the type from bottom to top and the cooperative type. Wang Ming (2007) and other experts carried out many empirical studies of large scale in several cities over the country, exploring normative studies on problems concerning assessment system, strategic planning and legal and policy environments for civil organizations, and then pointed out that the development of China’s social organizations experienced a developing process “from governmental selection to social selection”, and its point is to reveal characteristics on “roles, functions and management mechanisms” of China’s social organizations during the transitional period of the society.

Making a comprehensive survey on Chinese NGOs empirical studies, we can find out that a lot of scholars are unveiling the institutional foundations of the emergence and the development of China’s social organizations and their related Chinese characteristics mainly from the transformation of the relation between the state and the society. Actually no matter the essence of China’s social organizations is “system dependence”, “same form and different natures” (Shen Yuan, Sun Wusan, 2001:177-204), or “asymmetry dependence” (Xu Yusan, 2008), it is the same relation pattern, and has not transited to the domain of “system”. It has not fundamentally touched the “Chinese pattern” of the

development of China's social organizations. Why is it like this? How does it promote the development of China's civil society? What are its specialties? In particular, just as our government claims that socialism with Chinese characteristics is the product of combining universal truth of Marxism together with Chinese facts, Chinese NGOs have natures of those "NGOs" in general sense. Try to demonstrate how RCSC, as the top standard Chinese NGO, survives and operates and grows in contemporary China is my work.

2. Comparing Different Analytical Framework

From the perspective of NGOs' survivability, the behavior of an NGO must be viewed as a product of environmental forces, internal organizational dynamics, and the interaction of the two. A nonprofit organization's survivability is based not only on its ability to adopt various strategies to harness funds and other resources but also on the way it manages its relationship with government. The behavior of NGOs reflects not only incentive structures (for example, markets of charitable tasks, amounts of donation), which economists emphasize, but also state and polity structures (Gidron, Kramer, and Salamon, 1992) or institutional arrange. Whether nonprofit organizations are international or indigenous, all operate within the boundaries of a nation-state and are constrained by a sovereign government (Kuan, 1995:159).

We assume that non-government organizations exist within open, natural systems (Scott, 1987; Stone and Bryson, 2000). The organizations are thus open to their environments, have relatively permeable boundaries, and are called upon to do work that is deeply affected by formal and informal coalitions and networks. A crucial feature of this theoretical perspective is that each organization is itself a system that must garner the resources needed to produce outputs that are valued enough by key resource controllers to trigger the continuing resource flows necessary to sustain the organization. This

perspective thus implies that there are four elements that affect NGOs' survivability: resource, institution, relationships, and strategic plan.

In this study, the RCSC has drawn inspiration from existing studies. The summary of the relevant theoretical perspectives as follow: the resource-dependence perspective, political economy perspectives, neo-institutionalism, the inter-organizational relational perspective and nonprofit enterprise.

2.1 The Resource-dependence Perspective

The resource-dependence perspective was one of the earliest concepts in the organizational analysis literature to deal with the problem of how NGOs acquire resources instead of how they use them. The premise underlying the resource-dependence perspective is that no organization is self-contained or self-directed. All organizations must interact with others in their external environment in order to gain resources necessary for survival. Dependence on the environment is not problematic; rather, it is the undependable nature of environment that is so. This distinction is critical to understanding this perspective. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978:2) contended that: "organizations survive to the extent that they are effective. Their effectiveness derives from the management of demands, particularly the demands of interest groups upon which the organizations depend for resources. The key to organizational survival is the ability to acquire and maintain resources."

While no organization is entirely self-sufficient, some exist in more dependable environments than others. Organizations experience uncertainty when those controlling resources are undependable, as they often are in resource-scarce environments. This uncertainty threatens an organization's effectiveness and even survival. Interdependence varies with the availability of resources relative to the demand for them. Three conditions determine how dependent one

organization is on another. These are: (1) the importance of the resource sought to the organization seeking it. (2) The level of discretion that the holder of resource has over its allocation and use. (3) The existence of alternative sources for acquiring the resource, or of an appropriate substitute for it.

Organizations employ the following strategies to manage their dependencies: (1) adapting to or altering the constraints faced by interacting with the external environment; (2) altering the interdependencies through mergers, diversifications, or growth; (3) negotiating their environment by interlocking directorships or undertaking joint ventures with other organizations or through other associations; (4) changing the legality or legitimacy of the environment by political action (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978:71; Hudock, 1999:25).

In addition to that, interdependence does not imply balanced exchanges between actors. In fact, most relationships are characterized by asymmetry. As Keohane and Nye (1989:10) pointed out, “it is asymmetries in dependence that are most likely to provide sources of influence for actors in their dealings with one another.” In other words, asymmetrical interdependence is a source of power (Baldwin, 1989, cited in Hudock, 1999:26). The less dependent actor has control over resource and therefore the potential to affect outcomes; but the operative word is potential. Such an advantage does not guarantee that the political resources provided will translate into control over outcomes.

2.2 Neo-institutionalism Perspective

Institutional theory presents a paradox. Institutional analysis is old as Emile Durkheim’s exhortation to study “social facts as things”. Neo-institutional theory is called “institutional” because the theory focuses on the socially constructed, script-bound, embedded nature of mundane everyday behaviors as well as their importance. Neo-institutional theories have made significant inroads in a variety of disciplines, ranging from economics to political science

and sociology (North, 1990; Brinton and Nee 1998), and have also deeply influenced management and organizational thinking (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991).

In the social science literature, the concept of institutions has been used with an enormous array of meanings, many of which could be summed up in an over-simplified way as a concern with the three R's: rules or routines, roles, and relationships; all of which are socially constructed abstractions, rather than expressed in individual behaviors or the informal structures of organizations. It can be combined with other modes of analysis; institutional concepts can serve as part of an integrating approach to studying organizations in their larger contextual and operating environment, as well as on a more limited scope. It seems to be better for explaining stability or gradual, incremental change than the dynamics of organizational transformation.

At the heart of Neo-institutional theory thinking lays the belief that the rational actor model of organizations is insufficient and that organizational actions are formed and shaped by institutions; these institutions being the prevailing social rule, norms, and values that are taken for granted. Institutions constrain and also form individual and organizational behavior by limiting the range of available options that are perceived as legitimate. Legitimacy, understood as conformance with institutional expectations, thus becomes the central resource that organizations require for long-term survival.

Neo-institutional theory, in general, works from the premise that "organizational fields" (defined as the "key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products") create certain accepted norms or institutional logics that structure organizational behavior in a given industry, sector, or niche (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983:148). These norms or institutional logics that stems from different organizations are different. Such as market economic logics,

political regime logics, codetermine nonprofit organizational structure, or initiative imitate, comply with these institutional logics demands to secure their own survival.

In this study the author emphasizes that institutionalized belief systems constitute a distinctive class of elements that can account for the existence and the diversity of organizational structure. The concept of “combining” may help to understand how market power and government jointly shape the course and the evolution of nonprofit organizations. The main objective of the study is that in hybrid social service organizations, the business side functions as a technical organization with tightly coupled technologies, while the social service side functions as an institutionalized organization with loosely coupled technologies.

This relates to how nonprofits structure themselves to interact with governments and for-profits. We refer here to structural and procedural isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). This means that as nonprofits enter into relationships with the other sectors, they increasingly organize themselves to mirror and imitate characteristics of how their public sector counterparts operate and are structured. Sometimes this isomorphism is a function of traditional versus more radical objectives, where nonprofits pursuing more traditional paths exhibit higher degrees of similarity with their client/funders, as is illustrated by Brainard and Siplon’s analysis of health sector Internet-based nonprofits.

In other study, isomorphism emerges as a function of nonprofits’ search for the best way to interact with government/for-profits both for purposes of attracting resources and achieving influence. The well-recognized trend toward increased professionalization in the nonprofit sector exemplifies this situation (see, for example, Hulme and Edwards, 1997; Bush, 1992; Van der Heijden, 1987). A good illustration is Warin’s analysis of how social urgency associations consciously pursued a policy influence strategy based on informal connections

with political elites, thereby closely mirroring the informal nature of the French senior-level policy process. Translating this concept of isomorphism from formal organizational structures to “hybrid” organizations, it is useful to understand NGOs evolution. The question arises that to what extent the different value/institutional arrangement be accommodated.

2.3 Political Economy Perspectives

An important factor affecting NGOs’ survival is the nature of the political regime. Rajesh Tandon (1987; cited in Kuan, 1995:159-160) delineates three broad regime types that afford very different environments for NGOs. They are: military and dictatorship, the single-party state, and the liberal democracy. In general, a political system is established by the state and embodies the basic interests and value orientation of the political authorities that use it to control the political activities of the citizens. Therefore, a political system is more basic, restrictive and coercive than other systems, and when in conflict with other social systems, the others usually yield.

As applied to organizations, political refers to the various processes through which power and legitimation are acquired and maintained, goals and tasks determined, and systems of governance and oversight established. Economic refers to the processes by which resources (i.e., funds, staff, and clients) needed for the organization’s service technologies are obtained and allocated, and a division of labor established for the production and delivery of services (Hasenfeld, 1983:31–32).

According to Bratton (1989:576) observing the development of NGOs in Africa, they concluded that: The amount of space allowed to NGOs in any given country is determined first and foremost by political considerations, rather than by any calculation of the contribution of NGOs to economic and social development. Similarly, Kuan (1995:147) found a relationship between

nonprofit organizations based on Taiwan and government from 1964 to 1977 is affected by the nature of the political regime, which affords a unique environment for nonprofit organizations. By this token, institutional environment, such as the nature of political regime, public policy, and the government's development strategy is a crucial part of their environment to understand the relations of nonprofit organizations with government.

Consequently, the amount of operational space available to the nonprofit organizations depends greatly on the nature of the political regime. To survive, NGOs have to adjust their behaviors when they are located in different types of state structures. Especially when they are located in a country with a dictatorship or single-party state regime, they must show that their operations are apolitical and "basic human needs" oriented. And most NGOs clearly attempt to maintain a working, cooperative relationship with the host government in order to constitute a vehicle through which development assistance can be channeled to the needy people (Bolling, 1982). Moreover, a need for coordination is expected to exist between a recipient government and external NGOs since administrative problems might be anticipated at the local delivery level.

Political economy is particularly useful, for example, in understanding how the external environment and resource acquisition processes of organizations can influence their service delivery systems. It seems reasonable to conclude that as a paradigm for studying an intersection industry characterized by interdependence and interpenetration, concepts from political economy could be usefully incorporated in research designs, which would contribute to both theory and social policy.

However, some problematic aspects of this model have been noted. First, the concept of political economy has been criticized because of its underestimation of the importance of values and ideologies that can transcend calculations of

power and money in influencing organizational behavior. Second, these include the difficulty of distinguishing between political and economic factors; an overly abstract conception of power and other economic realities; and the problems in operationalizing and validating empirically complex organizational issues (Hasenfeld, 1983: 43–49). In addition, there are intrinsic obstacles to empirical research in NGOs, such as the imprecise technology in many fields, lack of consensus about the definitions of outcomes, and the criteria for judging effectiveness.

2.4 The Inter-organizational Relational Perspective

The inter-organizational relations (IOR) have attracted the attention of scholars from a variety of disciplines because each group is interested in a different facet of IOR; three distinct research traditions have emerged in the field. Taken as a whole, viewed from a theoretical perspective, there are three “ideal types” of government-for-profit-nonprofit relations: (a) Partnership, (b) Governance, and (c) Collaboration.

2.4.1 Partnership Models

Partnership, viewed from the nonprofit sector, means a dynamic relationship among diverse actors, based on mutually agreed objectives, pursued through a shared understanding of the most rational division of labor based on the respective comparative advantages of each partner. Partnership encompasses mutual influence, with a careful balance between synergy and respective autonomy, which incorporates mutual respect, equal participation in decision-making, mutual accountability and transparency (see Clark, 1991; Korten, 1990; Brinkerhoff, 2002).

There are two main discussions on the aspects of NGO in China. The first one is going on revolving the status and the function and the characteristic of the

third sector. One thinks the third sector is to construct China's social welfare system and realize government function transfer reality choice (Xiong, 2001). It is the important way to impel the citizen participation, realize management friendly (Yu, 2000). Simultaneously, the third sector is advantageous to satisfy the public demands to the multi- service, carrying out the innovation of social management system and the promotion of economic growth, creating employment in particular (Wang, 1999, Ding, 2004). China's third sector has half administration characteristic; its development is very difficult to break away the political frame, which already existed. Moreover, the government will be able to play the vital role for the quite long time (Wang, 1995).

The second is the case research of the actual NGO. Wei Yucong is the most representative one. He studied the relation of the welfare supplies between the government and the third sector from the government procurement angle, thought the government procurement has created the opportunity for the NGO's development (Wei, 2004). Sun Liping also analyzes the operation mechanism of the young people foundation from the social mobilization perspective (Sun, 2003).

In the west, the literature specific to partnership can be divided into five categories or streams. The ideal type of partnership is primarily promoted by NGO advocates. This literature takes the moral high ground. Partnership, it argues, is the most ethically appropriate approach to sustainable development and service delivery. In addition, NGO advocates may find it in their interest to use the partnership rhetoric, both because 'partners' may be perceived as morally superior to contractors, and because the rhetoric can afford opportunities to negotiate and create space for more mutual arrangements (see Garilao 1987; Van der Heijden 1987; Malena 1995; Fowler 1999; Bush 1992; Smillie 1995).

A second stream of literature is illustrated in some international donor,

government and corporate materials, including mission statements, annual reports, strategic planning efforts, special reports and programmer/project documentation (see World Bank 1996; Department for International Development 1998; US Agency for International Development 1997); Some of these efforts are well intentioned and may actually represent some current practice. In other instances, the rhetoric is strong but the practice is weak. It is difficult to distinguish the public relations objectives from actual practice without a more critical view of subsequent results.

The third stream consists of a set of related threads that have a pragmatic analytic focus (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff 2001; Brown and Ashman 1996; Coston 1998; Edwards 1996; Evans 1996; Fiszbein and Lowden 1998; Kolzow 1994; Lowndes and Skelcher 1998; Murphy and Bendell 1997; Smillie and Helmich 1993; phoff 1993; Waddell 1999). This literature views partnership as instrumental, that is, a means to reach other objectives, typically having to do with effectiveness, efficiency and responsiveness. One analytic thread considers particular types of relationships (e.g., government–NGO relations and donor–NGO relations) and purposes (e.g., advocacy/policy versus programmer implementation, and corporate citizenship). It is accompanied by an emerging ‘how-to’ literature⁹.

Another analytic thread derives from the business alliance literature, which has a long history. The partnership terminology in this context is evolving, increasingly referring to less formal exclusive relationships, as opposed to its limited historical application to legal structures, mergers and contracting relations¹⁰. This new literature addresses equality in decision-making, autonomy

⁹See Arsenault (1998); Bell and Shea (1998); Prince of Wales Business Leaders Forum (1998); Charles et al. (1998). This literature is replete with generalizations and some codification of experience. It may be informative in a general sense, but it can be analytically weak, overlooking many constraints and opportunities associated with partnership work and how to improve its effectiveness.

¹⁰ This includes supply chain partnerships (Lambert et al., 1996), or the integrated value chain (Dobbs, 1999).

of the partner organizations and corporate citizenship¹¹.

One of the most frequently cited forms of partnership is that J. Brinkerhoff (2002) refines our understanding of partnerships. She argues that partnership rhetoric is overused; devaluing the essence of what partnership is, as well as clouding the analytic use of the term. By identifying partnership's defining dimensions and value-added, she categorizes partnership relationships in terms of the degree of mutuality in partners' objectives, and the extent to which they retain their distinct organizational identities. Using these two dimensions, she contrasts partnership with other relationship types, including contracting, extension and gradual absorption or co-optation.

2.4.2 Governance Models

Governance, viewed from government, does not merely include the actions of government, but extends beyond government to address the role of citizens, both individually and organized in various forms of association, and the way groups and communities within society organize to make and implement decisions on matters of general concern. It includes reform efforts to increase accountability, transparency and responsiveness (democratic governance); to make the policy process more effective (more rational and equitable); and to maximize delivery of high-quality services (e.g., separation of financing and provision).

When extensive pattern of government reliance on private nonprofit group to carry out public purposes, especially, government has turn more of the responsibility for delivering publicly financed services over to nonprofit organizations than it has retained for itself in many fields. Such as education, health care, social welfare, disaster relief, professions, philanthropy, nonprofit organizations become an increasingly important part of the civil society.

¹¹ On corporate citizenship, see, for example, Kanter (1994); Googins (1997); Harbison and Pekar (1998); Kumar and Seth (1998); Pollack (1995); Williams (1994).

Relationship between government and the voluntary sector has attracted increasingly attention (Salamon 1987, 1995, 1999; Kenith and Desai 2000; Kramer 2000, McQuaid 2000; Lee 2005; Selden, Sowa and Sandfort 2006; Smith and Gronbjerg 2006; Vernis , Sanz and Saz-Carranza 2006).

Government–nonprofit relations have been examined from multiple angles. Most fundamentally, a significant amount of effort has gone into defining and describing the nonprofit sector and how it relates to the state in various countries around the world, in an effort to clarify the key elements of the sector and to allow for meaningful comparison (Salamon and Anheier, 1997). A major feature of the sector is its diversity, both within and across countries. This diversity can affect the potential comparative advantages and roles of governments and nonprofits, as well as their relationships. It also raises caveats for the generalizability of conclusions regarding how government–nonprofit relations should be structured and what outcomes can be expected. However, despite these problems, the theory and the practice regarding government–nonprofit relations have contributed to clarifying concepts, nuance analyses and theories, documenting experience, and drawing conclusions. The following selective review discusses evolving governance models, theories on sector failures and comparative frameworks.

The rationale for nonprofit participation and for government–nonprofit relations more generally, derives from a number of failures associated with each sector; these include market and contract failures, government failure, voluntary failure and even political failure. Most of the failure arguments concentrate on government–nonprofit relations in the context of public service delivery. Theories of the nonprofit sector have long supported their service delivery role (see Hansmann, 1987; Mansbridge, 1998; Douglas, 1987; Lipsky and Smith, 1989–1990; Salamon, 1987, 1989).

Indeed, analyses of government–nonprofit relations focus largely on service

delivery solutions, rather than more political roles. Viewed from government, this is the primary emphasis of the new public management. Such models can be criticized precisely because this narrow instrumental focus favors efficiency and effectiveness outcomes at the expense of other societal values (e.g., equity, fairness, community). Service beneficiaries want to be more than customers; they want to retain their role as citizens (see, for example, Ferlie et al., 1996). We argue that examination of government–nonprofit relations should include attention both to the service delivery and the advocacy (policy, representation) sides of the equation. In this sense, we can also discuss government–nonprofit relations as a response to political failure.

The governmental aid is so crucial to the growth of the NGOs. In fact, it served as a major factor in their maintaining the survival. As a consequence, of central concern here are four other potential dangers, as Salamon (1987:113) point out: first, loss of autonomy or independence, particularly the dilution of the NGOs' advocacy role; second, “vendorism”, or the distortion of agency missions in pursuit of available governmental funding; and third, bureaucratization or over-professionalization and a resulting loss of the flexibility and local control that are considered the NGOs' greatest strengths (Salamon, 1987).

Several frameworks of intergovernmental and cross-sectoral relationships (Coston (1998), for example, develops a macro-framework that enables a rapid assessment of the general state of government–nonprofit relations at the national level. Relationship types include: repression, rivalry and competition (where government resists institutional pluralism); and cooperation, complementarity and collaboration (where government accepts institutional pluralism). Coston acknowledges that these types can be identified on a case-by-case basis, particular to specific nonprofit organizations and government agencies, or policy areas. Her framework helps to clarify the relationship between the availability of political and policy space and what

roles nonprofits can fulfill. For example, where government–nonprofit relations are characterized by repression and rivalry, the options for nonprofit policy advocacy and challenges to the state on behalf of excluded groups will be limited.

Like Coston, Najam (2000) develops a model that incorporates the potential for both service delivery and advocacy. He argues that relationship types are determined by the strategic interests of both governments and NGOs, not solely by contextual factors or government initiative. By extension, relationship types are based on an examination of respective ends and means. His four C’s model is comprised of the following relationship types: cooperation, where government and NGOs share similar ends and means; confrontation, where both ends and means are dissimilar; complementarity, where the ends are similar, but the means differ; and co-optation, where governments and NGOs pursue similar means, but towards different ends. Young (2000) takes a multi-layered approach to understanding government–nonprofit relations. He distinguishes three alternative views: (1) nonprofits operate independently as supplements to government, (2) they work as complements to government in a partnership relationship, or (3) they are engaged in an adversarial relationship of mutual accountability with government.

Such frameworks seek to encapsulate the complexity inherent in the variety and contexts of relationships, while still enhancing our understanding of options and possibilities. The latter are also informed by driving concepts particular to specific nation states. In the United States, for example, the heavy emphasis in reengineering is on devolving service provision by contracting out to the private and nonprofit sectors. European governance models have also pursued service provision through these sectors, but following neo-corporatist ‘dirigiste’ principles through which the state plays a much stronger managerial role.

Admittedly, Coston’s typology was built from realities that are sometimes quite

far removed from the Chinese situation, and this does place some limits on this study. Furthermore, these models have not been put to the test; meaning that they were drawn from the results of only one piece of research work in a specific field of intervention, namely in stay-at-home services and mental health services respectively. Without denying the interest of these types of model, for our purpose we need a model, which also takes into account the types of institutional arrangements between the central government and the third sector, i.e., which provides a comprehensive framework in which the relations between the participants in the field are exerted. We sought a model able to take into consideration these elements that can provide a more macro-sociological point of view.

2.4.3 Collaboration

Collaboration, viewed from corporation (for-profits sector), describes the process of facilitating and operating in multi-organizational arrangements to solve problems that cannot be solved or easily solved by single organizations. Collaborative means to co-labor, to cooperate to achieve common goals, working across boundaries in multi-sector relationships. Cooperation is based on the value of reciprocity.

Regarding the relation of the NGOs and the market organization, most of the studies adopt the management and sociology scope. One of these studies is the discussion about NGO's characteristics and effective management. Named on the malfunction perspective, Hansmann put the NGO in different system environment completely to make a profit, and thought that the management and the movement of the NGO organization present many different characteristics with the enterprise organization. The effective management principle to the enterprise organization may be not suitable to NGO (Hansmann, 1980). Meyer and Scott distinguish the organization environment from the technical environment and the system environment, any organization all needs to face,

only the different organization survival technology and the system environment are different about strong and weak. The enterprise organization mainly processes technology environment question, and NGO must deal with the non-determinism about system environment (Meyer and Scott, 1992).

Although nonprofit organizations and businesses have been playing significant role in collaboration, nature of relations is seldom purely altruistic, and commercial partnerships often have an element of altruism (Galaskiewicz and Colman 2006).

Nonprofits can relate to businesses in a variety of ways, for example, as subcontractors, competitors, adversaries, owner, suppliers, customers, as well as collaborators (Abzug and Webb 1999). Scholars generally differentiate collaborative service delivery arrangements along many different dimensions, such as classifying them at the level at which they occur. Galaskiewicz and Colman (2006:180-181) focus only on collaboration but recognize that businesses and nonprofits are linked in a number of ways. They describe four types of businesses/nonprofits collaboration: philanthropic, strategic, commercial, and political. (1) Philanthropic collaboration advance social welfare by facilitating the delivery of nonprofits' mission-related services. They typically entail a unilateral transfer payment from the company to the nonprofit, but in many cases companies cooperate extensively with nonprofits in providing services. (2) The purpose of strategic collaborations is to realize exclusive benefits for the firm while advancing social welfare through the activities of the nonprofit. Sometimes this is called social investing or strategic philanthropy. Measurement is still a problem. (3) The purpose of commercial collaborations is to increase revenues for both the company and nonprofits. (4) Political collaborations aim at reproducing or changing institutional arrangements. Sometimes the purpose is to change corporate practices.

Along with other scholars (Agranoff and Pattakos 1979; Martin et al. 1983),

Kagan (1993) provides a useful classification of the level at which these arrangements occur, distinguishing four levels of delivery: (1) Policy-centered; (2) Organization-centered; (3) Program-centered; and (4) Client-centered integration.

This body of research has also classified the intensity of inter-organizational relationships, with most authors agreeing that there is a continuum of relationships that bind organizations to each other (Austin 2000; Mattessich and Monsey 1992). Although there is some variation in terminology, this intensity varies from informal to various types of formalized relations. On the one end is inter-organizational cooperation supported by informal and personal relationships between management and staff of different organizations. On the other end is formalized service integration, in which two organizations work together to provide a new package of services to their mutual clients. Between these two extremes are coordination, in which both organizations make an effort to calibrate their actions (although the organizations themselves remain independent), and collaboration, in which organizations share existing resources, authority, and rewards. Collaboration can occur through multiple mechanisms, such as integrating staff, joint planning, or joint budgeting. Although these terms - cooperation, coordination, collaboration, and service integration - are often used interchangeably, the research distinguishes among them according to the intensity of the relationship.

2.5 Research on Nonprofit Enterprise and Strategic Plan

2.5.1 Nonprofit Enterprise

According to the literature, many researches on commercialization in the nonprofit sector have concentrated on the role of the non-distribution constraint and the differences in service provision between nonprofit and for-profit institutional forms (Rose-Ackerman, 1996; Weisbrod, 1998; Steinberg, 1986).

While the majority of this research compares the performance and quality of nonprofit and for-profit organizations in mixed sector industries (such as health and day care), Weisbrod (1998) examined the variation within the behaviors of nonprofit enterprise, distinguishing between nonprofit “bonoficers,” that is nonprofit organizations who allocated at least some of their resources toward the public good, and “FPIDS” (for-profits in disguise)—who “behave like profit maximizers, distributing their outputs no differently, taking no less advantage of their informational superiorities and distributing no fewer external costs than private firms” (Weisbrod, 1998:72).

As the number of nonprofit hybrid organizations grows, there is a growing concern that even among “beneficers” the introduction of business logics can displace the mission focus of the organization (Tuckman, 1998; Weisbrod, 2004). New management tools, such as the “mission/money matrix” decision guide (Boschee, 1998), the “blended” calculation of financial and social returns (Emerson, 2003; Tuan, 2003) and “thinking at the margin” resource deployment (Young, 2004), have been introduced for leverage against mission drift. However, analyses of the relationship between commercialization and mission reveal some troubling trends. For example, Adams and Perlmutter (1991) founded that 22 out of the 25 nonprofit enterprises they surveyed experienced tension between commercial goals and mission (cited in Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004) and Salamon (1995) found commercial revenues to be negatively related to the number of poor clients an agency served (cited in Guo, 2006).

Despite all these important lines of research, the literature on nonprofit enterprise lacks empirically grounded, theory-driven analysis (Dees & Elias, 1998) on how mission-driven business enterprise models structure themselves to allay the tension between social mission and commercial goals or the specific mechanisms of mission drift. Drawing on ethnographic research in a large U.S. based nonprofit organization with decades of experience operating business

enterprises for vocational rehabilitation, this research work argues that the neo-institutional literature contains useful theoretical tools to guide an investigation into the central question this study asks about hybrid organizational models: How do organizational demands emanating from “multiple sector membership” (Hyde, 2000, p. 64) impact the structural architecture of internal work processes?

2.5.2 Strategic Plan and Evolution

NGOs are themselves systems that exist within larger, open, natural systems. They need systems thinking tools to help them pursue their missions and fulfill their mandates in self-sustaining ways over the long haul. Too often, strategic plans are lists of items without the necessary coherence, and too often strategic planning processes do not produce the kind of dynamism and feedback thinking needed to understand and strengthen systems. Bryson (1995) pointed that a viable enterprise scheme for capturing the essence of a nonprofit organization as a self-sustaining system is a useful systems thinking tool. An enterprise scheme for NGOs survival, growth, and effectiveness, which are included seven elements: (1) understanding social needs and stakeholders and their Interests; (2) pursuing a meaningful mission and fulfilling mandates; (3) building and drawing on core and distinctive competencies; (4) pursuing competitive and collaborative advantages; (5) employing coherent and effective strategies and operations; (6) producing desirable results and securing needed resources; (7) cultivating legitimacy and support (Bryson, Gibbons, and Shaye, 2001: 271—288).

In addition, Korten viewed institutional change of NGOs as a strategic choice. With environment transformation, social problems that the NGOs face have discrepant. In order to meet the beneficiary population, the varied scope and content that the NGOs offer have varied consequences of strategies of development, then the NGOs plays varied roles or functions. Korten (1990)

identified these strategic orientations of institutional change as generations, and generalizes four generations from development of NGOs over time.

The concept of generation is a significant tool for understanding institutional changes that pervade much modern organizational life, and for considering the strategies choices facing environment of organizations. However, the diversity of NGOs experience seems to defy precise classification. Few NGOs fit purely in one generation or another. Many researchers have done variety of programs, some of which may be first generation, others second generation, or third generation. The author thinks it is more useful to classify an individual NGOs' development, according to the organizational environments than to attempt to classify entire NGOs as having a generation specific strategy.

2.6 Limitation of Existing Literatures

After reviewing five theoretical perspectives and empirical literatures approaches to the NGOs, we found that, they are more or less deficient on the prerequisites for a theory. The political economy perspective, as a synthesis or “converging framework” of some of the major themes in the others, came closest to meeting the required criteria. This perspective more specifically articulates than the other external and internal political and economic processes that shape the organization’s character and influential interest groups. Political economy is particularly useful, for example, in understanding how the external environment and resource acquisition processes of organizations can influence their service delivery systems. It seems reasonable to conclude that as a paradigm for studying an intersectoral industry characterized by interdependence and interpenetration, concepts from political economy could be usefully incorporated in research designs, which would contribute to both theory and social policy.

The value of this form of institutional analysis is akin to a set of tools to decode

complex and dynamic environments, mapping not only organizations, but also different layers of interpretation and interplay between internal and external factors in the organization and the system. However, it has been criticized for downplaying the existence of change and conflict in institutional behavior, and the role of individuals, while overemphasizing the extent of institutionalization, determinism, and organizational isomorphism.

Although a great deal of the inter-organizational relations research has been descriptive from a variety of orientations, such as public administration, economics, and sociology. Many Research works in this field have examined various forms of inter-organizational relations, including dyadic linkages, organization sets, action sets, and networks. The most commonly researched question has been, “how can we improve coordination between interdependent organizations?” its chief limitation is that researchers have been too concerned with improving coordination. As a result, the literatures overlooked important questions like, “why do nonprofit organization adopt certain structural configurations?”

Second, the Government-NGOs relations between the theoretical have some common characteristics: (1) they are out of the hands of Western scholars; it is worth mentioning that, the relationship between the imbalance in the relationship-based. (2) The relationships are subject to political, economic and cultural systems, and many other factors affected. (3) And that this relationship is embedded in a country's culture, political and economic structures. With the scope of government activities and functions of the change, the implementation of the policy adjustment mechanism, political and economic system itself changes.

It should be said that the above-mentioned theories or concepts could be used to understand China's G-N-Fs relation's. However, they have some specific disadvantages: First, one is changing the relationship. This relationship in most

of the time is not fixed or static, but with the political, economic and cultural factors such as the ongoing strategic adjustment, followed by such a relationship is not only the interaction between the two departments, By the impact of organization on the market, and China's special economic system, we should be concerned about the relationship between the two departments behind the "institutional arrangements" (institutional arrangement).

Moreover, after reviewing empirical literatures approaches to the “hybrid” NGOs, the author finds: (1). Government-nonprofit-for-profit relations are deeply immersed in political ideologies about the proper role of government, preference for market structures, and priorities accorded to values of fairness, equity, equality, choice, and opportunities (Clemens, 2006). As a result, the mechanisms of political decision-making are revealed by the role nonprofits play in shaping public policies compared to other private actors. It is also evident in the relative influence of different types of nonprofits and the constituency groups they represent. Such features reveal a great deal about how power and political influence are structured in a given society.

(2). Related to the impact of government–nonprofit relations on the identities of the respective actors, the literature notes a blurring between the sectors as they increasingly interact (see, for example, Weisbrod, 1997, 1998). In the international development arena, nonprofits’ fears about sector blurring as a result of closer relations with government are nicely captured in the subtitle to Hulme and Edwards (1997): ‘too close for comfort?’ Several of the Symposium literatures address the blurring issue. In the case of the Internet-based health nonprofits, the radical organizations criticized the more traditional ones for being indistinguishable from the public-sector health establishment (Brainard and Siplon). A similar concern arose with the social urgency associations in France, where some of the actors expressed reservations about being so closely associated with the state through service contracting, preferring to emphasize

their advocacy and empowerment objectives, which encouraged a clearer distinction between them and the government (Warin).

Indeed, the “third sector” means that it lies “between states and markets” (Wuthnow, 1991), that is, outside the business and political realms. But it operates through transnational basis in pursuit of goals and purposes that transcend the boundaries of national territories and business realms, and owns the dual nature of the business and political realms. This global third sector is the realm of international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs). The Red Cross is an international disaster relief organization. Despite the recent upsurge of interest in INGOs, this global third sector is poorly understood, and few comprehensive studies of the sector are available (Speeckaert 1957; Feld 1971; Boli 2006). It is much more extensive and differentiated than most people realize.

Therefore, more research are needed on how other organizational models for social enterprise are set up to manage exposure of core social services to market and business “risk,” taking into account different societal contexts, such as goal displacement by market pressures facing the commercial enterprises. Furthermore, the future research works in this area should incorporate more systematic measures of the specific positions of hybrids in its organizational field(s), the degree of technical/institutional isomorphic pressures within the field(s), and the integration of internal tight and loose coupling technologies within the specific models of organizational structure. The other, institutional forces from the social service arena can have a real impact on the internal operation technologies within the hybrid organization and, along with market forces from the business arenas, must also be examined carefully.

3. Conceptual Framework of the Study

This study has drawn inspiration from existing studies, particularly

resource-dependence and neo-institutionalism analysis that explain the RCSC's behaviors by taking into account the existence of divergent interests, motivations and attitudes within both state and society. As most scholars have demonstrated the "dual nature of Chinese NGOs" (Sun et al. 1999), and the particular characteristics of NGOs caused by the condition of post-reform China. For example, Kang et al. (2008:305) have shown that the current NGOs, compared with those before the "open and reform era", exhibit apparent features of "Westernization" in their structures, conducts and functions; meanwhile, the government's attitudes towards these NGOs presents more "Chinese characteristics" in its administration manner, strategies and activities upon NGOs than before. Moreover, many Chinese NGOs are hybrid organizations in which state and society are interwoven (Lu 2009: 11). To obtain more accurate and detailed knowledge of Chinese NGOs, researchers would need to pay closer attention to the diverse interests of the different actors between state and society, and to explore more thoroughly the incentives, opportunities, resources and constraints that shape their behavior and fabric.

The rapid expansion of new forms of "hybrid" organizational models combining social service and government or business enterprise raise questions regarding the compatibility of social service mission and commercial goals (James, 1986; Laville & Nyssens, 2001; Perlmutter & Adams, 1990; Young & Salamon, 2002, Cooney, 2006). Similarly, the character of voluntary association declared by RCSC is operated by the government actually. RCSC's form of organization is obviously inconsistent with its actual operation. What are the survive logic and the system foundation of this inconsistent phenomenon? The Red Cross devotes to the construction of "Chinese Red Cross cause with Chinese characteristics". What is "the characteristic"? Why like this? What influence does it have on the formation of the Chinese citizen society?

This thesis seeks primarily a better understanding of the phenomenon of

“compatibility” in itself, treating issues such as “hybrid” nonprofit organizational consequences and processes of change in China context (see figure 2).

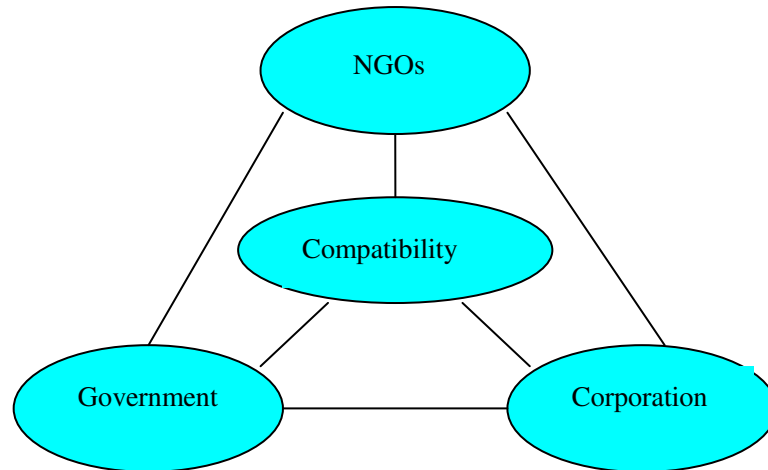


Figure 2 Conceptual framework of the study

This study consists of two aspects: One is descriptive frame, the other is explanatory frame. The former mainly studies five aspects from the system vicissitude's angle: (1) the social organization system, (2) the operational mechanism, (3) the relations with the communist party of china and government, (4) resources mobilization ability, (5) cultivation of volunteers' service and volunteer spirit. The latter seeks to demonstrate how “humanity” as a basic idea takes root in China, enters into people’s daily life, and how it is related to politics together? In short, how does the RCSC survive, operate and grow in China’s environment?

Chapter 3: Research Method

Case study mainly is used for this study. This chapter first briefly explains the reasons as well as the approach of the study. Moreover, it briefly explains the request analysis techniques with sampling methods. It introduces how “the case” was selected, how I gained access to the site, and how the interviewees were identified, following the strict requirements of qualitative research. The chapter details my field trip to the site for data collection and how the data were analyzed with validity and ethical considerations. After introducing selection of site and case, the second part of the chapter introduces principle of the Red Cross Society of China (RCSC), and the Red Cross enterprise.

1. Research Design

“The interpenetration of sectors is an established fact; the epistemological problem is to devise methods that will enable us to grasp its extent and its significance” (Hall, 1992:105–106). The purposes of this study is to investigate road of the RCSC development with Chinese characteristics, how to cope with the new era of changing environment, to meet the diversified needs of the service object, and to seek for strategy of the survival & development of the RCSC. In order to better understand the relationship between nonprofit organization, environment, process of shaping structure and behaviors of nonprofit organization in China, the study adopts the methods of document analysis, depth interview, field study, work participation and analysis. This study employs case study as its primary approach and investigates how particular forms of nonprofit-government relationships in China have emerged across fields of activities.

1.1 The Case Study Method

Case study is “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context” (Yin 2003b, p. 1). It is “the preferred strategy when the “how” or “why” questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2003:13). In general, the case study method shares with other social science research methods the goals of exploration, description and explanation.

Specifically, the goals of the case study method can be categorized as seek cause; give strategy, construct theory, assist development, and promotion of performance and achievements.

Moreover, a case study differs from the general homothetic studies, in that it stresses some kind of depth investigation. The researcher must utilize each method, from different angles, and collects various materials. The success of a case study is dependent upon inquiring into and analyzing relevant “texts” thoroughly.

This case study, or perhaps more accurately, this set of embedded case studies, is intensive in that the object of the research is one specific organization. The Red Cross Society of China (RCSC) is selected as our research sample; it includes Beijing, Shanghai, Shenzhen and Hubei provincial branches and so on. The similar case is rare in the literature. The author expects to take such challenges and opportunities.

1.2 Advantages of Case Study Method

The use of case study to build and test theories in social sciences has increased

in recent years (George and Bennett, 2005). Many scholars have argued that the social sciences rely too heavily on quantitative research and formal models and thus have attempted to develop and refine rigorous methods for using case studies.

Compared with quantitative research, case studies are characterized as “small-n” studies, in contrast to “large-N” statistical studies. In our case “bigger is better” culture, “large-N” methods are always preferable when sufficient data is available for study. In fact, case studies are the better solution for following questions. Case studies are generally strong precisely where statistical methods and formal models are weak. We have identified four strong advantages of case methods that make them valuable in testing hypotheses and particularly useful for theory development: their potential for achieving high conceptual validity, for fostering new hypotheses; their value as a useful means to closely examine the hypothesized role of causal mechanism in the context of individual cases; and their capacity for addressing causal complexity.

(1) One of the main advantages of case studies is their ability to serve the heuristic purpose of inductively identifying additional variables and generating hypotheses. Statistical methods lack accepted procedures for inductively generating new hypotheses.

(2) Case studies can analyze qualitatively complex events and take into account numerous variables precisely because they do not require numerous cases or a restricted number of variables. Trust, organizational culture, isomorphism, system dependence, and so on, are difficult to measure. A procedure that is “institutional operation” in one cultural context may be profoundly different in another. Thus, we must carry out “contextual analysis”, which is extremely difficult to do in statistical studies but is common in case studies.

(3) Third, case studies examine the operation of causal mechanisms in

individual cases in detail. Our definition of causal mechanism notes that such mechanisms operate only under certain conditions; statistical studies omit all contextual factors and intervening variables. Within a single case, we can look at a large number of intervening variables and inductively observe any unexpected aspects of the operation of a particular causal mechanism or help identify what conditions present in a case activate the causal mechanism that might account for “institutional operation”.

(4) Fourth, case studies can accommodate complex causal relations such as complex interactions effects, path dependency, and resource dependency.

Case studies can allow for equifinality, but they produce generalizations that are narrower or more contingents. The following section discusses some of the more important limitations of the case study method, especially in relation to the present study.

1.3 Limitations of the Case Study Method

Case study methods are always confronted with the problem of the relationship between the particular and the general, and the macro-micro interface. Displaying the features of a whole society through the description and analysis of unique cases becomes increasingly difficult as modern society becomes increasingly complex.

Generally, case studies have many recurrent trade-offs, inherent and potential limitations. Recurrent trade-offs include the problem of case selection; the trade-off between parsimony and richness; and the related tension between achieving high internal validity and good historical explanation of particular cases versus making generalizations that apply to broad populations. The inherent limitations include a relative inability to render judgments on the frequency or representativeness of particular cases and a weak capability for

estimating the average “causal effect” of variables for a sample. Potential limitations can include indeterminacy and lack of independence of cases.

One of the most common critiques of case study methods is their susceptibility to “selection bias”. Selection biases are indeed a potentially severe problem in case study research, but not in the same way as in statistical research. In the latter, it is commonly understood when some of selection process in either the design of the study or the real-world phenomena under investigation results in inference that suffer from systematic error (Collier and Mahoney, 1996: 15). In contrast, case study methods sometimes deliberately choose cases that share a particular outcome. Selection of cases on the basis of the value of their dependent variables is appropriate for some purposes, but not for others. So, we must carefully define and limit the scope of their findings to a well-specified population that shares the same key characteristics as the cases studied.

Second, case studies can only make tentative conclusions on how much gradations of a particular variable affect the outcome in a particular case or how much they generally contribute to the outcomes in a class or type of cases. Case studies are much stronger at identifying the scope conditions of theories and assessing arguments about causal necessity or sufficiency in particular cases. They estimate the generalized causal effects or causal weight of variables across a range of cases. In order to reduce this limitations, Dion (2003) convincingly argued that selection bias is not a significant tests of necessity or sufficiency, that single counterexamples can falsify deterministic claims of necessity or sufficiency (if measurement error can be ruled out). These factors make case studies a powerful means of assessing claims of necessity or sufficiency.

A final limitation of case studies is alleged lack of representativeness. Case researchers do not aspire to select cases that are directly “representative” of diverse populations and they usually do not and should not make claims that their findings are applicable to such populations except in contingent ways

(McKeown, 1999). Case study methods involve a trade-off among the goals of attaining theoretical parsimony, establishing explanatory richness, and keeping the number the cases to be studied manageable.

1.4 Why do I Select the Case Study Approach?

The case study approach is adopted for several specific reasons. First, there is a tradition that the case study approach has been intensively employed by nonprofit organization studies; nonprofit-government relationships are complex and dynamic. As Steven Rathgeb Smith and Kirsten A. Gronbjerg (2006:221) conclude: “they include exchanges of financial and other resources as well as effects to influence one another through regulatory activities or political mobilization. They both reflect and shape the nature of civic engagement. Moreover, they vary across time, space, and fields of activities.” Therefore, systematically studying the dynamics of nonprofit-government relationships is a particularly difficult task. Until recently, most nonprofit organizations research relied heavily on the case study method to capture the dynamics of nonprofit-environment relationships. This is mostly because the case study approach explores the realities of nonprofit-environment relationships.

The nonprofit-government relationships of China are a highly complicated evolvement process embedded deeply in its societal context. However, they are conditioned by economic and market structures and by activities carried out informally in local communities. The case study approach seeks to examine phenomenon in its “important circumstances” (Stake, 1995: xi). The case study approach helps better understand the relationships evolvement process of the Red Cross Society of China within its Chinese social context.

The case study approach can serve as a powerful tool to answer “how” or/and “why” questions (Yin, 2003; 9). It is well suited to the research interest of this study, since I intend to look for answers to how the nonprofit-government

relationships process has been evolved, and where the ability of disaster relief of the Red Cross come from in the Chinese context.

Finally, I believe that sometimes knowing more about less is much more important than knowing less about more. This is particularly meaningful for this qualitative research. The case study approach has the virtue of offering “the depth of analysis” (Gerring, 2004:348), and even “thick description” as coined by Gilbert Ryle (Geertz, 1973:6). To fulfill its major goal, this study seeks rich descriptions and interpretations for the nonprofit-government relationships shaping nonprofit organizational structure and behaviors in China, which can be satisfied through the case study approach.

In a word, case study provides a powerful tool to understand process, identify patterns, and comprehend systems. The Red Cross Society of China is particularly good at understanding why something happens within a complex context. It also allows opportunities for targeted solutions.

1.5 How Can One Go Beyond the Case?

There are basically four main methods handling the case study namely, generalization that goes beyond the case study, generalization within the case study, analytical generalization, and the extended case study methodology (Lu and Li, 2007). They want to establish a macroscopic standpoint for micro-sociology and attempt to analyze the micro-aspects from a macro-aspect standpoint, reflecting on the macro-aspect through the micro-aspect and emphasizing the function of theory throughout practice. Moreover, the general rules generated in theoretical reconstruction perform better in handling the relationship between the particular and the general.

This issue of representativeness is also pertinent to this research. How representative are my observations of the evolution process of

government-NGOs relationships within my cases? How could I draw any conclusions beyond my unique cases and perhaps irreplaceable observations? And if I could not generalize, is there any other way that I could establish significance to my study? There are valid criticisms from the standpoint of positive science. However, as Burawoy (1998: 4-33) explained, because it is from this irrevocable gap between positivistic theory and its practice, there are no methods, not even the best survey research, can live up to positivistic principles - reliability, and representativeness. I do not worry about the uniqueness of my case since I am interested in seeking deviant and negative case to deepen theory. As Rebecca Emigh (1997) has made the critical distinction between “deviant case analysis” and “negative case analysis”, the former increases the generalization of our theory, and the latter increases the “empirical content” of the theory. The purpose of this study is not only to obtain as accurate a mapping of the world delineating the procedures for gathering knowledge, not yet directed at establishing a definitive truth about our government-NGOs relationship, but also the continual improvement of existing theory.

2. Research Design

Nonprofit-government relationships are deeply immersed in political ideologies about the proper role of government, preference for market structures, and priorities accorded to value of fairness, equity, equality, choice, and/ or opportunities. Moreover, changes in nonprofit-government relationships provide a strategic window through which to understand the nature of economic, political regimes and vice versa. A good nonprofit organization researcher should know nonprofit-government relationships realities and study the wider society in which it operates. In the following paragraphs I will explain why the Red Cross Society of China is selected and how possible interviewees were identified.

2.1 Why Choose the RCSC as a Case?

In practice, sampling techniques of case and interviewing are crucial for fulfilling its research purpose. Sampling techniques known as probability sampling and purposive sampling are interchangeably used nowadays for quantitative or qualitative studies (Kemper, Stringfield, & Teddlie, 2003; 277). Silverman (2001:250) assumes that purposive sampling “allows us to choose a case because it illustrates some feature or process in which we are interested.” Specifically, Patton (2002:230) postulates that the logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry.

By Information-rich cases, this study looks for in-depth descriptive interpretations for the nonprofit-government relationships shaping nonprofit organizational structure and behaviors; it applies Patton’s typical-case sampling approach to capturing the local circumstances and conditions of an everyday or commonplace situation in China. Through the use of a typical-case sampling approach, the vital statistical characteristics of provincial nonprofit organizations were reviewed to identify “average-like” case (Patton, 2002; 236). One representative or typical provincial Red Cross organization in China was thus purposively chosen as the case for this study.

The RCSC is a humanitarian social relief organization, “guided by humanitarianism, philanthropy and dedication. The overall reorganization of the RCSC in August 1950 and after the international RC society got the legal position, the major problem faced by the RC society of the new China. At the same time, the RCSC was embedded in a heated debate of “whether or not to develop branches and carry out services in China”, and whether it should develop in a “larger or smaller scale”. At last, Premier Zhou Enlai instructed to

make an “appropriate development”. China’s RC movement gradually connected with socialist construction. After the reform and opening up, the developing objectives of the RCSC was clearly stipulated: to build a RC cause with Chinese characteristics. Former President of the RCSC Peng Peiyun emphasized again and again, “China’s RC cause in an integral part of socialism with Chinese characteristics”.

However, there have been little empirical studies on this kind of behavioral feature of social organizations. The existing literatures on the RC society are mainly about the history of the RC society, focusing on the origin, foundation and early development of the RCSC. Among them, several dissertations explore the early fund-raising mechanism of the RC society, which have direct relations with my research here. There are 11 research works found in China about the RCSC, with four typical ones. They are; *Hundred-Year Red Cross*, edited by Sun Boqiu and coauthored by Chi Zihua, Yang Guotang and etc. was published by Anhui People’s Publishing House, “as the first work systematically studying the hundred-year history of the RCSC, this book involves rich information and sufficient arguments, and by adopting interdisciplinary research techniques, it, for the first time, comprehensively and systematically re-represent the hundred-year’s vicissitudes of the RCSC, boasting profound era values”

In 2008, Zhou Qiuguang’s et.al has published a *Red Cross Societies in China* (1912-1927). This book briefly discussed the perspective of charity history, with the time-background of the 15 years from the foundation of the Republic of China to the foundation of the nationalist government of Nanjing. Four aspects were mainly considered. They are; why there are RC societies in China, how they managed to survive and develop, what role they played in Chinese society at that time and how they help to make the self- exclusive China go to the world and integrate into the international community.

There are two monographs in Taiwan as well. One is edited by famous historian Zhang Yufa and includes scholars from two sides of the Taiwan Straits, that is, *Hundred-Year's History of the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China, 1904-2003*. This book, boasting over one million words, “is the academic work of the largest scale so far studying China’s RC movement” It involves full and accurate information, “representing once again those magnificent historical scenes of the RC movement in the past 100 years” (Chi 2009:259). The other monograph is Zhang Jianqiu’s *Research on Early Development of Chinese Red Cross Society*, which mainly discusses changes of the pattern that local talents participate in social public affairs in the course of the development of China’s RC movement. It reveals, to some degree, the relationship between the country and the society.

The doctoral dissertation of American scholar Caroline Beth Reeves “The Power of Mercy: The Chinese Red Cross Society, 1900—1937” deserves attention. It straightens out the construction and the early development of the Chinese Red Cross Society and investigates China’s social and political vicissitudes reflected in this process.

In conclusion, among all these works and dissertations, many of them focus on the business of the RC society, but seldom on its professional services; many made the RCSC their research subject, but seldom local RC branches; many pay attention to the RC societies’ activities in China, but seldom international activities; many study concrete affairs, but seldom theoretical reflection. Despite the contributions made by these attempts, there are still some misunderstandings towards the nature, the status and the function of the RC society. Compared with others, the RC society is not a charity organization, but a social relief group conducting humanitarian work. What’s more, there seldom are researches from the perspective of the development of social organizations. Moreover, it becomes all the more insufficient as for the theoretical research of

the development of social organizations, which impedes the theoretical enhancement of the development of social organizations with Chinese characteristics. Therefore, to strengthen empirical studies becomes especially urgent.

The management system of the Red Cross in China has experienced changes from the medical department to social organization. It is directly in contact with the State Council of the PRC Government. The characteristics can be transformed from a rescuing association of the nationwide people's health services in 1950 to a social welfare association; or to the nationwide people's health services in 1985; and to the society rescuing association in 1993, and became a NGO to bring honor to the humanitarianism cause, in order to improve easy harmed community condition it also is the most glorious non-official organization in modern Chinese history (Zhang Yufa, 2004:1).

These case studies can be described as both descriptive and explanatory in nature. As a history of the evolution of RCSC from its beginning to current times, it “presents a complete description of a phenomenon within its context” (Yin 2003a:5). In an attempt to determine the reason for certain changes both organization and environment, it also provides an example of presenting “data bearing on cause-effect relationships – explaining how events happened” (Yin 2003:5).

Although generalization of findings is not the primary purpose of this study, this case study will help understand “a larger class of (similar) units” (Gerring, 2004:342), that is, how particular forms of nonprofit-government relationships in China have emerged across fields of activities and across the country since the 1980s. The Red Cross of China may be described as both a “unique” and “representative” case as it has its own set of experiences and characteristics which may provide new insights but, which when examined in an historical context and in comparison to other countries can be recognized as typical in

many ways of its genre (Yin 2003).

A representative or typical case refers to a case that allows for a commonplace understanding of nonprofit-government relationships shaping nonprofit organizational structure and behaviors in China. As a result, the site of the case was limited to a medium-sized city in mid-level developed province in inland China. Since GDP (gross domestic product) and GNI (gross national income) are usually used by economists as the cardinal indicators for measuring the socioeconomic development of a country (Ahuja, 1999:13), the gross regional product (GRP) and per capita net income of households were used likewise by this study to measure the socioeconomic development of a region. By the mid-level-developed province, this study selects four branches of Red Cross in Mainland China for study; they are Hubei province, Beijing, Shanghai and Shenzhen branches.

2.2 Investigative Strategy

Case study methods are used in this study, choosing four branches of RCSC. They are; Strategies include participatory observation, in-depth interview and site visit, and third party appraisal approach. In this study the author mainly conducted a number of site visits in Beijing, Shanghai, Shenzhen, and Hubei. Intensive field work was carried out over four periods: April 2008—July 2008 in Hubei, August—September 2009 in Beijing, October—November 2010 in Shenzhen, May—June 2011 in Shanghai. Additional interviews with the RCSC were also carried out on several trips to Beijing in 2010 and 2011.

In the process of the study, the author mainly applies the three methods as follows.

1. Participant Observation

Participant observation applied in the study is carried out in two ways, both in natural atmospheres.

In the first way, the author takes the status of a pure observant and executes direct observations of the research atmospheres and their interpersonal interactions, combined simultaneously with in-depth interview. For instance, the author observed the entire process of the resource collection by Red Cross Society of China Hubei Branch, such as, internal planning conference, drafting of relevant Red Cross document, deciding on collection objects, phone call communication and interview with important objects, and finally reaching collection agreement.

In the other way, the author carries out his observations as a participant. In 15 August 2009, the author participated in the volunteering activities sponsored by Red Cross Society of China Shenzhen Branch, during which he did ordinary talks with department leaders of Red Cross Society of China Shenzhen Branch, leaders of volunteers and Red Cross full-time staff members, and participated in several activities with more than 30 volunteers. And in 20 October 2009, the author participated in disaster and emergency exercises held by Red Cross Society of China Hubei Branch. The authentic data and materials gained through personal experience are precious to compensating the deficiencies of literature analysis and interviews. (See Appendix Table 1)

2. In-depth interview

As a method of collecting data, in-depth interview is expectedly applied to get into the lives of the research objects and to discover their experience, opinions and feelings through the conversations in actual field domains. The author interviewed staff members at various levels of Red Cross Society of China. In Beijing, he interviewed full-time staff members and department heads at the headquarters of Red Cross Society of China. He also interviewed the head of

Red Cross Foundation and full-time staff members of Marrow Donor Program, both being functional groups. Among local Red Cross Organizations, the author chose to interview the full-time vice president and the CPC heads of Red Cross Society of China Hubei Branch. As for Red Cross Organizations under provincial level, he mainly chose Red Cross Society of China Shenzhen Branch, where he interviewed full-time staff members in charge of resource collection and volunteering services, and relevant scholars and experts, 15 people in total. (See Appendix Table 2)

The steps of interview are phone call communication, confirmation of the interviewees, appointments of time and place, and personal visits. The interview content includes: A) how to raise resources such as money and materials? B) Range of services and their kinds? C) How to deal with government departments? D) The functions and ways of CPC in Red Cross Organizations? And E) how to mobilize volunteers?

In-depth interview is not a natural and undisputed method, it is full of tension of moral reasoning and moral sentiment, behavior and interpretation, facts and value (Sluka, Jeffrey, & Antonius Robben, 2007). As a research method, in-depth interview is based on social constructivism. it include four dimensions: situational, affective, intervention and interactive. The interview is related to the individual life experience, feeling and action representation, it is an awkward problem that everyone has their own feeling and interpretation. Especially the social action of the specific context is not what the interviewee has done. Therefore, the author conducted not only interview itself, but also document analysis.

3. Document analysis

The literature sources of this study include monographs published in China and overseas, treatises in journals, master's and doctoral thesis, newspaper essays,

and the publications of Red Cross Society of China such as < Red Cross Society of China News Report>, < Red Cross Society of China Yearbook> and “Red Cross Society of China Press”. These materials all bear important values in this study.

2.2.1 Identification of Interviewees

As mentioned previously, the purposeful sampling technique was adopted by this study with multiple strategies for identifying possible informants. The multiple strategies included convenience sampling, opportunistic sampling, snowball sampling, and critical case sampling (Mertens, 1998; 261-265; Patton, 2002:237-242). Convenience sampling allows the study to target samples that are easily accessible and finds a lot of applications in the field of research, but its disadvantage is obvious: the easily accessed samples might not be the appropriate ones. This disadvantage can be minimized in this study because I clearly knew about the case on the site and those as key informants who have in fact been involved in the Red Cross organization. This study also used opportunistic sampling and snowball sampling which both involve taking “advantage of circumstances and events as they arise while undergoing the data collection process,” and which “use insider knowledge to maximize the chance that the units included in the final sample are strong (highly appropriate) cases to include in the study” (Kemper et al., 2003:283).

2.2.2 Collection of Interview Data

Participant observation refers to the regular observation of a setting over time in order to discern patterns and identify agency, system, or community processes (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999; Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte, 1999; Agar, 1996). Although participant observation provides an understanding of day-to-day processes, unstructured interviews provide historical data, the

background or rationale for observations, and opportunities to explore values and feelings. Unstructured interviews are scheduled for conversations with staff members, which allows a free flow of questions aimed at clarifying aspects of the study topic. Usually, organization studies include interviews with key staff, board members, and other stakeholders. These key informant interviews generally provide an overview of agency history, processes, and reasons behind various decisions. Depending on the study questions, research may also include interviews with selected program participants, members, or community residents. These interviews are open ended, sometimes with no formal questions and other times with a guide of topics to cover. These interviews are usually tape recorded and transcribed for analysis.

Life histories and depth interviews are the two most common types (Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte, 1999; Atkinson, 1998). Life histories ask the people interviewed to recount their life story, focusing on issues of concern to the research project. For example, life histories of welfare recipients covered educational, work, and public assistance history. Depth interviews may cover a variety of topics related to the research concerns, asking participants to share their experience and feelings about those topics. For example, an agency who needs assessment may cover how people use an agency, their experience with its programs, and their opinion of the agency and specific programs.

The exploratory-descriptive research design is primarily executed through the technique known as the semi-structured interview. The semi-structured interview aims to generate reliable, comparable qualitative data by employing a written list of questions and topics to be covered in the interview, referred to as the “interview guide”. The rationale of using the semi-structured interview in the study, instead of other interview techniques such as informal interviewing, unstructured interviewing, and structured interviewing, is that it allows a free discussion between interviewer and informant but remains controlled by a set of

clear guidelines. The following questions from Bernard (1988) further explains the relevancy of using semi-structured interviewing for the study: “semi-structured interviewing works very well in projects in which you are dealing with managers, bureaucrats, and elite members of a community—people who are accustomed to efficient use of their time. It demonstrates that you are fully in control of what you want from an interview but leaves both you and your informant free to follow new leads. It shows that you are prepared and competent but that you are not trying to exercise excessive control over the informant (p.205).

2.2.3 Collection of Documents

Data collection primarily consists of, but is not limited to, different types of interviews. The interview is generally regarded as “one of the most important sources of case study information” (Yin, 2003:89). At the same time, documentation and archival records provide other important data sources for this study.

Documentary data are used to supplement information that could not be obtained from the interview data. It is secondary source material and statistical data. Existing sources include the census, agency administrative databases, government records from appropriate departments such as government, and local surveys of the organizations. In order to obtain more detailed information, I also investigated publicly available agency documents such as the agencies’ annual reports, financial statements, and board member profiles. These data were obtained by request through a formal letter to the executive directors of the sample agencies.

2.2.4 Limitations and Countermeasures

Certainly, every method has its own limitations and boundaries. Despite many

advantages with a case study approach, there are disadvantages that are embedded in case studies. For this study, there are three types of limitations embedded in the nature of the research. The first limitation lies in the generalization of findings. China has the largest governmental system in the world and has significant regional and institutional differences. The selection of the case for this study is heavily relied on recent rankings of socioeconomic development level, but indicators for socioeconomic development and the development of a nonprofit organization could be more complex and therefore may vary significantly from one to another. Findings from a single selected case may reveal some major dimensions in the nationwide nonprofit-government relationships shaping nonprofit organizational structure and behaviors, but they cannot be fully generalized or applied to other settings without considering various local conditions and other issues associated with generalizing across contexts.

The second limitation is about the trustworthiness of the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:290), or its validity. Data collected from interviews might have some untrustworthy accounts about the implementation process, as a result of the political tradition in contemporary China. For example, although the madness of the Great Culture Revolution ended three decades ago (Lin, 1991), some Chinese people are still afraid of writing down or publicly sharing with others their real thoughts, judgments or feelings about political and policy issues. Participants in the study may have sensed some interview questions as threatening, namely, politically sensitive. To maximize the trustworthiness of the study, interview questions have been designed as politically non-sensitive as possible. In addition, personal information and interview locations have been kept confidential and safe for the informants.

Third one is that, how to process and use the collected information and material is always a puzzling, complex matter. Different researchers have different

processing approaches to the case study method. In the Western sociological literature, for example, W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki vibrated the educational world. They called their new method “the life study method”, where the immigrants narrated their life stories and the researchers also collected other documents that provide a fuller narration of life experiences, especially letters.

In this study, the author mainly adopts a compromised approach and issue-oriented approach. I would discuss the Red Cross movement’s process, structure and mobilization mechanism. This thesis probes deeply into several issues, such as (1) fund-raising, (2) reinvented organization, (3) the relationship between CPC and RCSC, (4) expansion of humanitarian sphere, (5) “China style” voluntaries. They have not only been the influence factors of the RCSC's survival and development, but also has long been a topic of concern, which can also be used as case study. I can find the key attributes that make us profoundly understand "the universal rule". In science research course, the function of "exceptional case" always is not to "the universal rule", but is revision and expansion of "the universal rule" boundary.

2.3 Ethical Concerns

The research might face some ethical issues such as risks and confidentiality issues which are associated with the dissemination of my final report, but every possible effort has been made to minimize these threats. The research rigidly adopted the criteria of the Hong Kong Polytechnic University and strictly complied with the University’s requirements for conducting research that involves human subjects. There were no known risks and/or discomforts associated with the study, and will share research findings with the participants after the research is completed. In the final product, participants’ details didn’t allocate with other findings. Before conducting the interviews, we mainly used an interview consent form to inform participants about the details and risks of

the research and the interview, and to obtain their consents and signatures for participation and audio recording.

3. Humanistas and the RCSC Enterprise

Before beginning to study the Red Cross Movement in China, the author firstly investigated the principle of the Red Cross and Red Cross enterprise. According to the International Committee of the Red Cross and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, “The Red Cross is a voluntary relief organization not prompted in any manner by desire for gain.” Humanity is one of the Red Cross’s seven principles (Humanity, Impartiality, Neutrality, Independence, Voluntary Service, Unity, and Universality). The principles of the Red Cross do not all have the same importance; and “humanity” is the “golden rule” of the Red Cross. As Jean Pictet (1965:204)¹² argued that:

Humanity is the *essential principle*, and has a special place because it is the expression of the profound motivation of the Red Cross, from which all the other principles are derived.... It includes three elements: (a) *To prevent and alleviate suffering*; (b) *To protect life and health*; and (c) *To assure respect for the individual*.

The conception of humanity impels each of us to act for the well-being of our fellow men. Humanity is a universal doctrine of the Red Cross. Its purpose is to protect life and health and to ensure respect for the human being. Without this principle, the Red Cross would not have existed in the first place. It follows that “the Red Cross enterprise” refers to the humanity-work carried out by the Red Cross. It is to summarize three aspects: one is humanity-work in wars; two is

¹²See Jean S. Pictet. – Red Cross Principles. ICRC, Geneva, 1956. (Translated from the French, *Les principes de la Croix-Rouge*, Geneva, 1955). This triple mandate was reaffirmed, in the same language, by the Twenty-third International Red Cross Conference at Bucharest in 1977 (Resolution I, entitled “The Red Cross Mission”).

the humanity-work in the peace period; three is humanity-work for special events.

According to “People’s Republic of Chinese Red Cross Law” and “the Chinese Red Cross Regulation”, the RCSC enterprise includes ten duties: (1) To make preparations for disaster relief; in case of natural calamities and emergencies, to provide relief and assistance to the sick, the injured and other victims. (2) To disseminate knowledge about health care, rescue skills and disease prevention, conduct training in primary health care skills, organize the masses to participate in on-the-spot first aid services. (3) The promotion, launch and commendation about Blood Donation without Repayment. (4) To construct and manage for Chinese hemopoiesis stem cell contributor information bank (Chinese marrow storehouse), and provide other humanitarianism services. (5) All levels of Red Cross establish social welfare work which conforms to the Red Cross objective. (6) To develop Red Cross activities among young people. (7) To take part in international humanitarianism relief work. (8) To develop fund-raising legally. (9) To promote basic principle about the international humanitarian law, Red Cross and the Red Crescent Societies movement and “the People’s Republic of China Red Cross Law”. (10) The people’s government above the county level (including county level) entrusts Red Cross to handle all other “the Red Cross enterprises”.

After the reform and open policy in China, especially "People's Republic of China Red Cross Law" announcement, CRCS has adjusted its own developmental strategy and the primary mission. A goal is to construct the Chinese characteristic Red Cross enterprise. As Former President of the RCSC Peng Peiyun emphasized again and again, “the Chinese Red Cross enterprise is a part of the Chinese characteristics socialism enterprise, simultaneously is a part of international Red Cross movement.”¹³Therefore, how the CRCS follows

¹³See Peng Peiyun: Speech on the symposium of the RCSC Volunteer Work, Dec.24, 2007.

the basic principle of the international Red Cross movement and applies these principles in the context of China, and develops China's Red Cross enterprise.

Chapter 4: Fund-raising and Development of RCSC

1. Introduction

Independence is one of the seven basic principles of International Red Cross, and it is also the essential guarantee for its donations. Steady and diverse financial resources are the foundation for the Red Cross to maintain its freedom, independence and its benign operation. The way to obtain resources is inseparably related with the organization's self-identification, function orientation and operation. The relationship between them is like the one between fish and water. Fish cannot survive without water while water tends to be stagnant without fish. An organization constitutes of three indispensable organic parts: mission, fundamental principles and translating mission, and operative norms. In its mission or operation, it undertakes sacrifice for the benefits of others. For the Red Cross, its service and the spirit of it, as the source of its vital energy, are indissolubly associated with its mission and principles. As some thinkers and Red Cross servants have said, 'help' is the most beautiful word in the world next to 'love' (Jean S. Picter, 1979). In other words, enough resources build up a benign circle of more service, more resources and better functions, and vice versa.

The establishment of a lofty goal is indispensable from the capability of realizing the goal. For the Red Cross Society, the successful fund-raising determines not only the realization of its ultimate goal but also its ability of carrying out social relief operations. The fund-raising is more than a question of skills, but rather "it is more like a mirror, reflecting the various aspects of the abilities of an organization". Therefore, fund-raising is more than a key question of survival and development of the organization¹⁴. In fact, it can reveal the status of existence of the RCSC and the relationship between the RCSC and

¹⁴ Interview data with the RCSC, 2009.

the government. A detailed study of the source of the funds of the RCSC from the perspective of the transformation of social system can fully display the organizational development of the RCSC, as well as the unique features of the NGOs, which develops in a social system within mainland China.

According to the study of some scholars, the development of Red Cross Society in China has experienced four stages, namely, the late Qing Period (A.D. 1904-1912), the Period of the Beijing Government (A.D.1912-1927), the Period of Nanjing National Government (A.D.1927-1949) and the Period of the People's Republic of China (A.D.1949--)¹⁵. In each of the these stages, the Red Cross Society in China raise fund in different ways from different resources. According to the Resource Dependence Theory, resources shape the structure of an organization, while the management structure of an organization determines the source and form of its resources. The Red Cross Society in China has experienced two times of transformation in its management system: the first one is the stage when resources determines its structure, that is, it has transformed from mode of being jointly managed by the government and the merchants to the mode of the separation of three powers; the second stage is the time when the system determines the source and form of its resources, that is, the involvement of the government in the operation and the management of the RCSC after a thorough reorganization since 1949. Through this reorganization, the RCSC is transformed into a sub-unit of the government. After the reform and opening-up policy, the RCSC, however, the RCSC began to shake off the control the government and gain its independence gradually. This chapter deeply discussed the fund-raising mode of the RCSC and intends to present an analysis of the transformation of the organizational development of the RCSC.

¹⁵ See for example, Zhang Yufa: History of the RCSC(1904—2003),(Taiwan) Republic of China(ROC) of RED Cross edit.2004; Zhang Jianqiu: the Study of the RCSC in initial stage(1912—1949), PHD. Dissertation. National ChengChi University(NCCU).

2. The Mode of RCSC' Fund-raising

Generally speaking, the Red Cross Society is a humanitarian organization with the following three characteristics :(1) Internationalism. It conducts operations in many countries; (2) Authority. The achievement of the humanitarian campaign of the Red Cross Society has won the recognition of people from around the world. Therefore, Red Cross Society has a high-credibility and "brand value"; (3) Unitary. There is only one Red Cross Society in each country. The governments in different countries around the world are willing to give some support through some preferential policies (e.g. Direct funding, exemption of tax, authorizing monopolization of blood donation to it, etc.), or influence the development of it in different ways, which, in turn, improves the popularity and publicity of the Red Cross Society, making it easier to win the recognition of the public.

The sources of funds for Red Cross Society are different. Considering all the conventions and the policies of various counties, it can be mainly divided into three categories; contributions, donations and grant from government as well as private organizations (e.g. heritage gifts, etc.). The Red Cross Society in the United States plays a significant role. It is well developed with a membership of over two thirds of its total population. Contribution becomes its major sources of income. On the other, it refuses the government's subsidies, but can be entrusted by the government to manage the material relief resources. This is a clear indication that, the Red Cross Society of the United States has its own choice and a strong autonomy. Likewise, the funds of the RCSC mainly come from donations, contributions and government grants. But the way the RCSC adopts to mobilize resources has a unique epochal and phase character. Meanwhile, its management structure has demonstrated many interesting changes. The following discussion will analyze the feature of the resource mobilization of the Red Cross Society in China by taking the early mode of the

RCSC' mobilization of resource as an example.

Firstly, the sources of fund in the early period of the Red Cross Society in China were wide, government officials, merchants as well as overseas Chinese being the major donators. According to the study of Professor Zhou Qiuguang, in the late period of the Qing Dynasty (A.D.1904-1912), the fund of the early Red Cross Society in China mainly came from donations of the society, contributions of its members, and grants of the government and advance payment of its fund providers. The major donators were mostly government officials, merchants, overseas Chinese, foreign ambassadors in China and social communities. The contribution of its members accounted for the second source of its funds. Its members were mostly merchants and people from genteel families. The grant of the government ranked third, which only accounted for a small percentage of its funds. The forth was the advance payment. Apart from those funds, some businesses, such as the China Telegraph Office, Shanghai Steamship Office etc., reduced or remitted the clerical cost of the Red Society, while newspapers, such as the Shenbao (Newspapers), printed advertisement for the Red Cross Society free of charge or at half price.

Shen Dunhe, a genteel merchant in Shanghai, and Lv Haihuan, an government official of the Qing Dynasty, founded the Red Cross Society in China. The management structure of the organization adopted the board system, with merchants from Shanghai, Jiangsu Province and Zhejiang Provinces as the board members. The organization has a very strong autonomy and remained a non-governmental organization. The mode of its resources mobilization was through the joint work of government officials and merchants, with the merchants playing the leading role.

In the period of the Beijing Government (A.D.1912-1927), the sources of funds of the Red Cross Society in China were mainly from 8 channels: the donations of social groups, contributions, grants from governments at different levels,

donations of government officials and merchants, donations of overseas Chinese, donations of foreign Red Cross societies, Baota Juan (donations of ordinary people), investments. Judging from the constitution of the funds (Zhang Yufa, 2004:151-153), to social donations the donators include, government officials, merchants, people from upper classes, students, doctors as well as celebrities from different walks of life, but the majority comes from the middle and upper class. The donators, ranging from President, vice President, provincial Governors to common people from genteel families, are willing to make donations. There are even some donators who are willing to donate an enormous sum of money.

It is worth noticing that although the grant from central and local governments didn't account for much of the funds, it helped to alleviate the Red Cross Society of its financial pressure via some indirect approaches, such as "free certification", "government reward"¹⁶ etc. These preferential policies, though unable to be reflected by the receipt and payment report, offered great help to the social work of the Red Cross Society.

In general, the social donations and contributions made up of 90% of the total funds of the Red Cross Society in China. This is indispensable of "the advanced, flexible, and effective operational system"(Zhang Yufa, 2004:133). In correspondence to this, the Red Cross Society in China at that time had a relatively higher autonomous management system. According to the China's Statutes of the Red Cross Society passed on the First Membership Conference of the RCSC, the RCSC adopted the management system of "separation of three powers".

The headquarters was located in Beijing, and the main office was located in Shanghai. Thirty-six members would be elected as representatives to establish a

¹⁶ It is called "free of charge", see "Federation of the Red Cross of China". Official Communication of the Red Cross of China. September 14, Xuantong third year, p476—3225.

standing committee. The three departments had different division of duties. The headquarters in Beijing represents the Red Cross Society in China with a President and two Vice Presidents. It was responsible for coordinating the relationship between the government and the RCSC, as well as undertaking tasks assigned by the government. It had a symbolic status. "The President is mainly an honorary position". The Shanghai main office under the leadership of the Vice President and the Director-General of the Standing Committee was in charge of daily work, with the power to administrate and make decisions on daily routines. The Shanghai Standing Committee consisted of the 36 representatives elected from its members. They were divided into three 12-persons groups, with a three-year term of office. Every year, the Membership Conference would elect some representatives. Those who were elected would be responsible for making decisions and had the legislative power. They supervised the jurisdiction, that is, the handling of every issue.

From the above quotation, we can see that, the early Red Cross Society in China borrowed the management mode of the separation of the three powers from the western countries and applied it to its practices, which not only ensured the democratization of decision-making but also represented a breakthrough in the development of the cause of Charity in China.

Secondly, the mobilization strategy of the early RCSC was closely related with the propaganda of the philanthropy ideas. The combination of philanthropy ideas with the work of fund-raising promoted the development of the RCSC. The RCSC mainly depended on donations for its funds, but its fund-raising must first be authorized by the Central Government and then announced to the public through advertisements. It would solicit contributions by persuading military or government officials of different levels or at places, or communities of merchants. Therefore, the fund-raising strategy of the early RCSC was closely associated with its mode of publicity and popularity. Its propaganda

activities fell into two categories: (1) propaganda activity aiming to publicize the philanthropy idea of the RCSC, for example, speech and essay writing competition, publishing some relevant books or periodicals, etc.; (2) propaganda activities aiming at raising funds. Through these propaganda activities the RCSC was able to improve its popularity and win the trust and confidence of the common people, and thus raised enough fund for its operation.

To be specific, the mode of the propaganda activities of the RCSC were divided into four categories: (1) Holding various recreational activities. Through these activities, people's understanding of the idea and the principle of the RCSC was greatly deepened. These activities mainly included essay writing and speech competition, soccer games, charity performance etc.; (2) Founding RCSC periodicals, publishing books and publicizing the Red Cross idea via conventional literary forms. For example, in March 1913, the *Rendao Zhinan* (Handbook of Humanitarianism) was published, and 23 issues of the *Zhongguo Hongshizi Hui Yuekan* (Monthly of Red Cross Society in China) were published during October 1921 and June, 1923. In 1924, the *Zhongguo Hongshizi Hui Ershi Zhounian Jnian Ce* (The Memory Book for the 20th Anniversary) was published; (3) Increasing its influence via holding conferences, opening ceremonies and organizing educational excursions. During these conferences, the guiding principles, the future development and some important issues would be solved and some topics closely associated with the present issues were usually discussed. Meanwhile, these conferences were covered by the news media. Through these news reports, people around the country could learn about the RCSC and its activities; (4) Winning the confidence of common people by publishing propaganda literature, distributing Credit Information Reports and Membership Directory to increase its influence on the society. The RCSC published a directory of the name and donations of those medical care donators, and then distributed the directory to individuals to

gain publicity to its credit information. Meanwhile, it printed a manual with the names of its members around the country and posted these books to the members, bringing honor to its donors and members and winning their trust and confidence. The wide distribution of these books and directories in the society not only facilitated such activities as "establishing branches", "recruiting members" and "financing pensions and disaster relief" etc., but also improved people's understanding of the RCSC, thus offering a good guide-line for the establishment of people's concept of the new philanthropy mode.

3. The Features of the RCSC' Mobilization of Resources

The early RCSC adopted the strategy of combining the mobilization of resources with Chinese traditional culture. By combining humanitarianism with traditional moral teaching, such as "to do well and accumulate merits" "to be patriotic" and "to value the affinity for the fellow countrymen", the early RCSC successfully conducted resources mobilization, which demonstrated the following three features.

3.1 Combine Humanitarianism with "Accumulating Merits"

The Red Cross Society in China was introduced into China as a result of western civilization. However, the RCSC was deeply rooted in the soil of Chinese society and its development was motivated by the needs of the society. When the Red Cross Society was introduced into China, the Chinese society was still a "Rural Land", (as was named by Fei Xiaotong), "a land in which everyone was acquainted with each other, a land without strangers"(Fei Xiaotong, 2004:2). It was undeniable that there were a few real philanthropists, who had high moral standards and were dedicated to humanitarian activities for a long time without pursuing any personal gains, but most donors neither possessed the consciousness of humanity (the spirit of fraternity or humanitarian spirit) as the westerners did, nor did those people fully understand

the traditional morality of "extending the respect of the aged in one's family to that of other families". Under the guidance of the humanitarian idea, the Red Cross Society of China declared that it was different from other social organizations, because "it had no religious purpose, nor was it controlled by any political parties".¹⁷

Unlike the westerners, the Chinese people were always influenced by the mentality of doing well and accumulating merits. Therefore, most people would make a wish when making donations. The Red Cross Society of China made use of this mentality to publicize its idea and raise funds. The following quotation may serve as evidence:

During the 1911 Revolution, the Red Cross Society of China raised fund among the public. When the details of donations were published, it was seen that some people "wishing their disease to be cured as soon as possible while making the donations".¹⁸ In 1912, there was a person who donated the money which was saved from wedding ceremony and parties to the Red Cross Society, noting that the money was to be used as the "funds of the RCSC so as to benefit the majority of the people".¹⁹ In 1913, the slogan of "making donations to accumulate merits to realize your wish" was first used when the Shanghai Main Office started the campaign of raising fund for the flood disaster in Zhejiang Province. The slogan read, "Noble minded and good people should be willing to help the needy. By helping and saving the life of others, you can accumulate your own merits. If you make a donation and wish for your disease to be cured, it can be cured and you shall be healthy. If you wish for a son, you shall get a son with lots of grandchildren around you. Please hurry and make donations!"²⁰

This kind of slogan and advertisement did produce a good result and won the

¹⁷See Shen Dunhe: Foreword. "Humanitarian Guide" No. 1, March 1913, p3.

¹⁸ Shenbao: Acknowledgements of the Red Cross of China, January 5, 1912.

¹⁹ Shenbao: Acknowledgements of the Red Cross of China to Li qinxiang, January 23, 1912. Shenbao: Acknowledgements of the Red Cross of China, January 3, 1913.

²⁰ Shenbao: Acknowledgements of the Red Cross of China, April 1, 1913

support of many people. Since then, "doing good to accumulate merits" became the slogan for the Red Cross Society in China to raise funds. It was a widely-used strategy taken as the topic for essay writing competition among the public. There is no doubt that developing the charity cause by taking advantage of people's superstitious mind is rather selfish, and it is against the nature of charity²¹. These donators, however, had both the superstitious mentality and a good heart.

Therefore, it is rather unpractical and not accurate, if we use the word "humanitarian" to describe the action and the motivation of all the donators at the time. A precise statement should be that the Red Cross Society of China combined the "humanitarian-oriented" idea with the conventional idea of "doing good to accumulate merits".

3.2 Combines Humanitarianism with "Fraternity between Fellow Countrymen".

"Doing good and helping others" has always been a tradition for the Chinese people. This tradition, however, is mostly demonstrated by helping people from the same hometown. As is stated by Fei Xiaotong (1989) in his book *Rural China*, the Chinese society is a society with the "orderly diversity pattern". When people make donations, this feature is fully demonstrated. The strategy of mobilizing resources through the "fraternity between country fellowmen" can be further divided into two categories: (1) the strategy of mobilizing resources in emergencies; (2) the strategy of mobilizing resources in normal situations.

For example, in 1913, the Red Cross Society in China first applied the idea of "fraternity" in its advertisement for donations. It was written, "The fellow countrymen in Jiangsu Province and Zhejiang Province have survived the flood,

²¹ See Shenbao: Acknowledgements of the Red Cross of China, November 25, 1913.

but they are suffering as if they were living in hell. If you are concerned about your fellow countrymen, why not give them a hand?"²² Appeals and slogans were used again in the Second Revolution when the Red Cross Society launched another campaign to raise fund for the victims of warfare. When the southeast of China suffered the disaster of famine and war, the Main Office in Shanghai called for the common people to make donations, called "millions of fellow countrymen were living in extreme misery, without food and cloth. They beg for life yet life is miserable; they ask for death yet they cannot". It appealed to "kind-hearted people both home and abroad as well as the Red Cross Society members to persuade people to make donations so as to help and provide relief to the fellow countrymen who are suffering".²³

This was a strategy used to raise fund and resources during emergencies. But this appeal or strategy didn't seem to work as well as the strategy of "doing good to accumulate merits" in the early period. Later, however, not only the Red Cross Society in China resorted to the "fraternity between fellow countrymen" to raise fund and persuade people to make donations, other non-governmental organizations also applied it to their own fund-raising campaigns.

For resources mobilization under normal circumstances, the Red Cross Society of China mainly adopted two new strategies. The first one was "Baota Juan" (donations made by common people). Baota Juan was a fund-raising approach commonly adopted by the Red Cross Society. It was generally conducted by the well-doers who persuaded people to make donations by walking from door to door. No matter the donators were rich or poor, no matter how much money the donator had donated, the Red Cross Society would publish a letter of acknowledgment on the newspaper, publishing the names, the addresses, the amount of money and the names of the people who organized the donations one

²² See Shenbao: Acknowledgements of the Red Cross of China, January 3, 1913.

²³See Shenbao: Acknowledgements of the Red Cross of China to the members. December 23, 1913.

by one, so that the credit information could be known by the donors. Although the donors of Baota Juan were mostly ordinary people and their donations were small, the total number of the donations made by as large a population as China was still quite considerable. The second form was the donations made by some social organizations, that is, some enterprises or businesses would make yearly donations to the Red Cross Society. For example, the Huainai Sian Gongsuo in Shanghai made donations to the Red Cross Society every year since 1913. Its yearly donation was 10,000 Yuan each year, paid off in three or four times.

3.3 Combination of Humanitarianism with "Patriotism"

Different sources of funds usually carried with it different purposes. In another word, the ordinary people who made donations have their own purposes. Liang Qizi, a scholar specialized in the study of philanthropy organizations during Ming Dynasty and Qing Dynasty, stated that in the late period of Qing Dynasty, the power of the central government was weakened, and destabilizing factors and social disturbances, mainly warfare, broke out one after another. The government didn't plan to get involved into the social relief activities. But to enhance its dominance role and to maintain the normal social order, the government in the Late Qing Period decided to give financial support to the Red Cross Society. On the other hand, the charitable organizations never intended to revolt against the existing social system or uttered any reactionary remarks. Their primary goal was to consolidate the existing social order and therefore became a supporting link to the existing government. The Red Cross Society of China was born in a social background. Other than the strategies, such as "associating making donations with accumulating merits" and "appeal to people's fraternity love", the Red Cross Society in China resorted to the strategy of "appealing to patriotism" to mobilize people from various walks of life who made donations with different motivations, which also became a

frequently-used strategy of other non-government organizations to mobilize social resources and raise funds for the development of themselves.

Among the social forces who made donations to the Red Cross Society of China, overseas Chinese was another active group that participated eagerly in the charitable operations of the RCSC. Among all the donations accepted by the RCSC, the donations of the overseas Chinese had experienced the largest change. Patriotism was the core motivation for the overseas Chinese to make donations, and they did dedicate their own forces and resources to their motherland, especially when modern China was at the critical moment of survival. Their donations and contributions were among the most selfless and most constant ones. A best illustration was the fact that the overseas Chinese made the greatest donations during the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945). The majority of the donors were overseas Chinese from Dutch East Indies. According to the research, the donations of overseas Chinese accounted for 79.2% of the total fund of the RCSC during the 1937-1938 period, 98.26% in the year 1940. From 1942 to 1945, the donations from overseas Chinese reduced a lot, but it still accounted for 50% of total income of the RCSC. After the end of the Anti-Japanese War, the donations still accounted for 45% of the total income²⁴.

4. The Influence of Social System Transformation

With the transformation of the social system, the RCSC has experienced many times of reorganization. The first one was the interference of the Nanjing Government (A.D.1927-1949) with the staffing issues of the RCSC. The interference was intensified with the passage of time and eventually the Nanjing Government gained complete control of the RCSC. After the year 1922, the RCSC never called for its National Membership Conference. In 1933, the Main

²⁴ Zhang Yufa: History of the RCSC(1904—2003),(Taiwan) Republic of China(ROC) of Red Cross edit.2004; p 221—238.

Office in Shanghai was canceled. In 1934, the RCSC was taken into the charge of the government. After the reorganization in 1934, all the management officials, ranging from President to councilman and supervisors, were all appointed by the government.²⁵ These councilman and supervisors were mostly government officials. Some merchants who were good at soliciting donations and used to work for the RCSC quitted, and the Nanjing Government successfully got involved into the management system of the RCSC²⁶. After 1934 the income of the RCSC declined sharply, the grants from the government were improved continuously. This situation lasted until the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War. As a result, government reached 40% of the total income of the RCSC and remained 30% by the end of the war²⁷. By then, the RCSC's identity of working as a non-governmental organization was completely changed.

In 1950, reorganization was conducted again. The RCSC, "a medical care organization under the leadership of the Central People's Government" was preserved by the government of the People's Republic of China (A.D.1949-). In 1952, following the instruction of Premier Zhou Enlai, the RCSC was put under the direct leadership of health department. Since then, the RCSC became a social organization subjected to the supervision and management of the National Patriotic Health Campaign Office of the Ministry of Public Health. In 1956, the RCSC was merged into People Relief Administration of China (PRAC). In 1958, the branches of the RCSC began to work in the same office with the sub-units of the Ministry of Public Health, and "its work must be within the plan and schedule of the Departments of Public Health in different levels of the government", that is, the RCSC had to "combine its work with the work of the Departments of Public Health".

²⁵See notes 24.

²⁶Zhang Yufa: History of the RCSC(1904—2003),(Taiwan) Republic of China(ROC) of Red Cross edit.2004; p 225.

²⁷Zhang Yufa: History of the RCSC(1904—2003),(Taiwan) Republic of China(ROC) of Red Cross edit.2004; p 271.

In the 1960s, the RCSC repeated making reports to the Central Government, seeking for a chance of getting independent funding and working by itself. In its reports, it emphasized that "the RCSC isn't a sub-unit of the Public Health, neither is it a unit under the direct leadership of the State Council. It demanded to have independent manning quotas and funding, hoping the Central Government could issue instructions so that the branches of the RCSC could have an independent management system (including manning quotas, funding etc.)²⁸".

It is rather thought-provoking that despite the constant efforts of the RCSC to seek for independence from 1950 to 1978, the result was quite the opposite: it was more and more integrated and merged with the government, and eventually it became a department of the government. During the Cultural Revolution (A.D.1966-1976), most of its work was stopped completely except for taking part in some foreign affair activities.

After 1978, the RCSC members successfully solicited the support of the Central Government. With the deepening of reform and opening-up, the Thirteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China held in 1988 proposed the policy of "straightening out the relationship between the CPC and administrative institutions as well as the social organizations, so that all the social organizations can conduct its work in accordance with their own unique features". In the meantime, the RCSC initiated the campaign of "Independent-oriented reform".

In both 1988 and 1989, the RCSC submitted to the administrative departments in the government two years in a row the following two documents: *Proposal on the Reform of the Management System of the Red Cross Society of China* (Document issued by the RCSC(1988) Article No.008), and *Report on the*

²⁸See Zhongguo Hongshizihui Zonghui edit, "A Selection of History Data of the RCSC (1950-2004),Beijin: Publishing House of Minority Nationalities,2005,p3.

Reform of the Management System of the Red Cross Society of China (Document issued by the CPC Branch of the RCSC(1989) Article No.04). In these two reports, the proposal for “straightening up the relationship between the RCSC and the government” was put forward, in which the “four requirements” was presented: requirement of establishing independent management system, requirement of having full time staff members, requirement of funding support, and requirement of permission for conducting activities”. The core appeal was to have “independent funding”. In 1995, on the Second Council Meeting of the Sixth Conference of the Red Cross Society of China, the proposal for full time staff, manning quotas as well as independent budget and funding under the administration of the Ministry of Public Health, that is, the RCSC started to seek for a semi-independent management system within the system of the Ministry of Public Health and to actively mobilize social resources. In 1996 and 1997, on the Third and the Forth Council Meetings of the Sixth Conference of the Red Cross Society of China, the RCSC members solicited a completely independent management system and a funding system independent of the administration of the Ministry of Public Health. It was not until 1999 that the State Commission Office for Public Sector Reform (SCOPSR) issued the document, stating that the Red Cross Society of China will not be under the administration of Ministry of Public Health, but rather be put under the “direct connection” of the State Council. In this process of seeking independence, the RCSC adopted two strategies: firstly, it took initiative to submit reports and ask for the permission of the government to make devolution of power; secondly, it actively sought for the support of social resources. Through a detailed study of the RCSC’s process of seeking for “relative autonomy”, we can have a better understanding of the “survival logic” and “development logic” of the non-governmental organizations in China. In the following part, two phrases of this process shall be presented and the revenue structure of 2006 and 2007 shall be taken as examples to illustrate the features of its fund-raising process.

4.1 Fund-raising Before the Reform and Opening-up (1950-1978)

Since 1949, the fund-raising of the RCSC, its position in political and social life as well as its function in the socialist system have come to be linked together. On August 20, 1950, the *Reorganization Consultative Conference of the Red Cross Society of China* was held. The major topic for the meeting was: whether it was necessary for the RCSC, a non-governmental organization, to exist and develop in the new society? It was a critical moment of life and death for the RCSC.

According to the Zhu Zihui(2006:898) discussion, there were two different opinions. They are: one group of people held that under the socialist system, the well-being of the common people, from birth to old-age, in sickness or health, solely depended on the support of the government. Moreover, RCSC had many limitations inside China. They based their argument on the ground that social relief work would gradually disappear with the economic development of the country. The implied meaning was that there was no necessity for the existence of the RCSC; another group of people, however, maintain a different opinion. They argued that humanitarian relief contained a lot. Although the Red Cross Society came into existence because humanitarian relief was needed during the war. In peacetime, the RCSC should not only provide natural disaster relief and social welfare service, but also dedicate itself to offer service to the work of public health and engage in organizing national patriotic health campaign. Therefore, the RCSC should be fully developed. A hot discussion broke out between the two groups, and it wasn't settled until Premier Zhou Enlai gave the instruction that the RCSC should "be developed moderately". That's how the RCSC came to be preserved.

In fact, after 1949, "non-governmental organizations like the RCSC were urgently needed to heal the trauma made by the war and to provide relief to the

masses who are the victims of the war". In the meantime, the stance of the RCSC should be "for the people and by the people". It was required to use its special position to assist the government to heal the trauma of war and offer relief service to the people by mobilizing all the human resources, material resources financial resources it could. In a word, the RCSC should be "a bridge that links the government with its people"(Zhu Zihui, 2006:895).

As was mentioned by Wu Yunfu, the Standing Director of the RCSC, in the *Report on the Adjustment of Some Issues of the Red Cross Society of China* on August 3, 1950 that, "in the past, the Red Cross Society of China relied mainly on the donations from foreign countries to do the relief work. Currently, we need to depend on the support of the masses and the government, rely on our own strength and resources, rather than continue to seek the help of assistance from foreign countries. It should assist the Ministry of Public Health to organize non-governmental forces and conduct work concerning medical care and public health"²⁹. In fact, the Central Government did follow the exact instructions of the document. In both 1963 and 1964, the Central Government issued two documents, emphasizing that the Red Cross Society belongs to the "institutions of political parties and people's organizations", that its administrative expenditures should be listed under the item of allowances for "political parties and people's group", that its administrative expenditure should be listed under the item of "health expenditure", and that a certain amount of subsidies should be given to the RCSC. This policy, as a matter of fact, deprived the RCSC of its fund-raising qualifications and forced it to rely on the subsidies or allowances of the government. In practice, however, neither the subsidies nor the allowances could be given. For instance, the Wuhan Branch of the RCSC reported that the Health Bureau of Hubei Province gave the RCSC Branch a monthly allowance of RMB 5 Yuan, making it impossible for the RCSC to

²⁹Zhongguo Hongshizihui Zonghui edit, "A Selection of History Data of the RCSC (1950-2004), Beijing: Publishing House of Minority Nationalities, 2005, p3.

conduct any social relief work. To make things worse, the full time staff of the RCSC could enjoy the treatment promised to them or they were forced to transfer to other departments³⁰. As a result, it was impossible for the RCSC to conduct its own work independently.

The sources of funding for the RCSC during this period consisted of two parts. The first part of the revenue was made up of the contributions of its members and income from undertakings and was used to cover the expenditure of routines. If the revenue failed to cover the expenditure, it usually appealed to the government for further subsidies and could receive voluntary donations. The second part of the funding was realized by applying for exemption of tallage or preferential policy on the real estate, undertakings and the transportation of relief and well-being material transportations.

The contribution can be divided into two parts, namely admission fee and membership dues. According to the *Temporary Provisions of the Red Cross Society of China Membership System* (passed in the Third Council Meeting on January 13, 1951), its members can be classified into three types: adult members, junior members and honorary members. The qualification for honorary members was mainly confirmed to those people who had made great contributions to the development of the RCSC or had greatly helped as well as achieved great accomplishment in the humanitarian field. For example, an article stipulated that "anyone who has made donations to various levels of the RCSC worth of more than 10,000kg of rice shall be confirmed as an honorary member." It can be seen from this stipulation that at the time the society was in acute shortage of material resources. Thus the RCSC was in urgent need of material donations and it stipulated that the initiate members should provide a certain amount of "rice"(foodstuffs) as its admission fee or membership due. (See Table 1)

³⁰Zhongguo Hongshizihui Zonghui edit, "A Selection of History Data of the RCSC (1950-2004), Beijing: Publishing House of Minority Nationalities, 2005, p81.

Table 1: Red Cross Society of China membership dues (rice/year)

member	entrance fee	Membership dues	remarks
Grown-up member	1kg rice	1kg rice	Every season
young member	0.5kg rice	1kg rice	Every season

Quoted from *Temporary Provisions of the Red Cross Society of China Membership System* passed in the Third Council Meeting held on January 13, 1951.

The second section of the revenue mainly came from the tax-exempt treatment, that is, the monetary donations made to the RCSC would be tax-free. According to the Document (Fiscal Party File No.9) issued by the Ministry of Finance, all the donations made to the Red Cross Society of China were tax-free, in another word, "no income tax has been made on the income of the Red Cross Society of China". It was because the activities of the RCSC played a supplementary role to the government by conducting activities concerning social welfare, social relief and social education. By exempting income tax, "the charity activities of non-governmental organizations or individuals were greatly intensified".

In the meantime the industrial and commercial taxes of the hospitals run by the Red Cross Society of China were also exempted. Ever since the founding of the RCSC, it has dedicated itself to the cause of medical care and public health. Three of the hospitals run by the RCSC in Shanghai were operated effectively. On December 7, 1950, the Ministry of Public Health issued the "*Notification on the Exemption of the Industrial and Commercial Tax of Public and Private Hospitals* (Medical Care & Administration File No. 709) stated clearly that "all the hospitals or clinics run by the Red Cross Society of China or by its branch societies should be exempted of their industrial and commercial taxes, and their income and expenses should be put in the charge of responsible departments of the Red Cross societies." The issue of this document did help the RCSC to

accumulate a certain amount of resources for its survival, but the resources accumulated in this way could only maintain the daily routine of the RCSC.

In the 1960s, under the influence of Central Government's policy of "unifying leadership, simplifying system and unified allocation of cadres", the RCSC was required to "reduce or remit the dues or fees, all its members should be exempted from paying contributions". The subsidies from the government at that time, however, were rather limited. Only the headquarters and a few branch departments of RCSC were retained for the purpose of serving diplomatic needs. As for the local branches of Red Cross Society, its "full time staff were transformed to other posts, its work completely stopped and all it was left was a board with the name of the RCSC on it"³¹. The remaining part of the RCSC seemingly did humanitarian work, but in fact, it was doing the diplomatic work for the government. All the other works had stopped.

To sum up, under the social system of planned economy, no organization can exist beyond the control of the government. In fact, without the support of the government, no organization can survive. The period lasting from 1949 to 1978 is "a period in which the RCSC made the greatest effort to pursue independent manning quotas and funding"³². As a matter of fact, if the relationship between the Red Cross Society and the government was not straightened out, it would be impossible for the RCSC to survive. Therefore, the issue of straightening out the system was the key to the problem of fund-raising for the RCSC.

4.2 Fund-raising after the Reform and Opening-up (A.D.1978--)

After the implementation of the reform and opening-up policy in 1978, "the appeal for autonomy" was again proposed by the RCSC. Over the years the

³¹Zhongguo Hongshizihui Zonghui edit, "A Selection of History Data of the RCSC (1950-2004), Beijing: Publishing House of Minority Nationalities, 2005, p 63、 66、 67、 81.

³²Yuan Ruijun: Report on the Management System of the RCSC Branches, Zhongguo Hongshizihui Zonghui edit. 2007. P2.

RCSC had made great efforts to strive for its independence, ranging from seeking independence within the system of departments of public health to the independence beyond the public health department, from seeking for the manning quotas and funding for activities to relatively stable staff team and budget, from passively waiting for assignment of conducting humanitarian relief service to actively getting involved into the process of social construction. The RCSC's mission has transformed from "assisting government to mobilize and organize the masses to conduct medical care and health relief activities as well as practice the revolutionary humanitarianism" to "a humanitarian relief organization which can independently conduct operations, actively organize activities to offer social services, closely identify itself with the masses, and have a unique feature of its own". By 1999, the RCSC had already grown into a relative independent people's organization which was put under the "direct connection" of the State Council, and had full time staffs, funding and operations.

Indeed, the social circumstances for the development of the RCSC were greatly improved after the reform and opening-up. "But for a long period of time, the Red Cross Society of China has to rely on government subsidies and overseas donations for funding", said Wang Shunong³³, the Vice Director of Fund-raising and Financing Department of the Red Cross Society of China.

The real change happened in 2004. In this year, the RCSC held the 8th National Conference of the Members of the Red Cross Society of China. In the meeting the RCSC established the Fund-raising Department and adjusted as well as fortified the Foundation of Red Cross Society of China by setting up the Project Management Office and strengthening its overseas investment. In the meantime, branches on provincial level and prefecture level also established corresponding departments to enhance the RCSC's fund-raising strength.

³³Interview data with the RCSC,2010.

Among the donations organized by the RCSC, the one conducted in December, 2004 for the Indian Ocean Tsunami, was the biggest sum of donations made by the Red Cross Society of China since its founding and it also raised the publicity of the Red Cross Society of China onto a completely new level. The branches of the RCSC mobilized all the strength around the country to raise a total sum of RMB 443,000,000 yuan. Before this donation campaign, a prominent feature of the Chinese Charity Business was that the Chinese people were more willing to donate material resources rather than money. But in the donations for the tsunami disaster, all the donations were made in cash. This change, however, wasn't a mark for the beginning of a simplification but rather, it marked the new era of multiplication in the contents of donations'.

In the following section, the author briefly explains the RCSC's revenue structure in 2006 and 2007.

1)The general status of the fund-raising in 2006 The revenue of the RCSC fund-raising was mainly categorized into 7 parts: government grant, donated money from the society, donated material resources from the society, money donated by foreign countries, material donated by foreign countries, contributions and other income.

In 2006, the national revenue of the RCSC reached RMB1, 562,420,000 Yuan (See Appendix Table 3). If divided by the total population of the whole country, the donation made by per capita was RMB1.2 Yuan. Judging from the revenue structure of the total income (See Appendix Table 4), the domestic donations ranked first with the percentage of 37.5%; the material and monetary donations amount to a percentage of 27.6%; the government grant ranked third with a percentage of 25.0%; the rest of the 4 items in sequence were money donated from abroad (3.8%), other donations (3.6%), money converted from materials donated from abroad (1.5%) and membership contributions (1.0%).

Among them, a)based on domestic money donation, most of it was made to the local RCSC branches on provincial level and prefecture level as well as the headquarters of the RCSC, with a percentage of 47.4% and 38.5% respectively; b) based on domestic material donation, the majority of it was made to the local RCSC branches on provincial and prefecture level, ranking first if converted to monetary value (46.1%); c)of the government grant, most was given to the local RCSC branches on provincial and prefecture level, accounting for 31.4%.

Table 5 demonstrates the feature of the funding sources of the RCSC at different levels: (1) the revenues of local RCSC branches below provincial and prefecture level accounts for quite large percentage of the total revenue of the whole RCSC system. If taking all the government grants, domestic monetary donations, domestic material donations, membership contributions, material donations from abroad, and other donations into full account, we can see that the total revenue of local RCSC branches accounts for a bigger percentage than that of the General RCSC and RCSC branches at provincial and prefecture level. It is a clear indication that the strength of RCSC branches at provincial, prefecture and county level has been increased continuously. The vitality of the RCSC campaign consists in the grass root organizations. The RCSC has already transformed from an organization dominated by the government to an organization "for the people and by the people";(2) local RCSC branches below the provincial and prefecture level has mobilized the largest percentage of the resources, accounting for 60.7% and 39.7% respectively. It is a clear indication that strength of the government is on the decline while the strength of the common people is on the increase. In fact, the people who have no power has surpassed the strength demonstrated by the power of the government; (3)there is no definite rule to follow for the increase of various revenues, which shows that the sources of funding are very complex. But there is the general trend that "donations from abroad" generally flow to the General Office of RCSC, while "domestic donations" mainly flow to local RCSC branches. (See Appendix

Table 5)

2)General fund-raising status of the RCSC in 2007 The revenue of the RCSC in 2007 is also mainly consisted of 7 parts: government grant, donated money from the society, donated material resources from the society, money donated by foreign countries, material donated by foreign countries, contributions and other income.

In 2007, the national revenue of the RCSC reached RMB2, 139,240,000 Yuan (See Appendix Table 6). Among them, the General Office of RCSC raised RMB638, 000,000 Yuan. RCSC at provincial level collected RMB598, 000,000 Yuan. RCSC at/below prefecture level collected RMB903, 000,000 Yuan. If divided by the total population of the whole country, the donation made by per capita was RMB1.6 Yuan. Compared with 2006, they had been increased by 36.9% and 33.3% respectively.

Table 7(See Appendix Table 7) demonstrates the feature of sources of the funding of the RCSC at different levels: (1) the grants allocated by the government to the General Office of RCSC ranked the highest with a percentage of 48.5%, but its grants to local RCSC at/below provincial and prefecture level has declined a lot, with a percentage of 7%, showing that the guiding role of policy-making has been greatly strengthened. In the meantime, monetary donations from abroad are mainly given to the General Office of the RCSC, while the material donations from abroad are mainly given to local RCSC below provincial and prefecture level. If taking domestic monetary donations, domestic material donations, membership contributions, and material donations from abroad and other donations into full account. Moreover, we can see that the total revenue of local RCSC branches accounts for a bigger percentage than that of the General RCSC and RCSC branches at provincial and prefecture level. It is a clear indication that the strength of RCSC branches at provincial, prefecture and county level has been increased;(3)as far as other

revenues, especially "contributions" and "other income", are concerned, the local RCSC below provincial and prefecture level enjoys an absolute advantage. It indicates the people's loyalty and recognition of the RCSC has been on the increase; for another thing that the capability of conducting social services has been improved.

3) Comparison between the Statistical Indicator of 2006 and 2007

Seeing from the 12 indicators listed in Table 8(See Appendix Table 8), we can find that there are seven items which are on the increase while five items are on the decline. It is worth noting that, the absolute figure and average values can clearly display the significance of the changes, but the change of "rate" or "ratio" has to be analyzed in accordance with the specific situation. For instance, the increase of "various fund income" has an absolutely positive implication, but the increase or decline of fund income of General Office of RCSC or RCSC branches at/below provincial and prefecture level cannot be simply interpreted by the same standard. Of this item, "Other fund income" mainly refers to some operating income, such as the profit made by the "Red Cross Hotel" run by the General Office of the RCSC, or the charges of the hospitals under the name of Red Cross Society, as well as some income brought about by the operational entities which are associated with the RCSC. This is something worth of further discussion in detail.

To sum up, the fund-raising strategy of the RCSC are apparently influenced by the transformation of social system, not only because the sources of funding are affected by the development of the society or that the modes of source mobilization are affected by the wills of the contributors, but also more importantly, content and form of resource mobilization are directly influenced by cultural values and social system. Judging from the perspective of the transformation of social system, we can see that four distinct changes have been displayed in the RCSC's resource mobilization process:

(a) Transformation from accepting foreign assistance to mainly relies on domestic donations: In the period of Nanjing National Government, the major funding source of the RCSC was mainly from overseas Chinese and the donations organized by foreign organizations; Currently, the monetary and material donations raised within China has reached to more than 50%;

(b) Change from fund-raising organized and conducted mainly by the General Office of the RCSC to a coordinative mode of fund-raising conducted by RCSC branches all around the country. In the late period of the Qing Dynasty, the fun-raising was mainly conducted by a few people who were in charge of the General Office and by a few well-known public figures who solicited donations by making use of the social status. It was a time when merchants held the dominant position in the social life, while now the RCSC has to rely on the donation of common people;

(c) Change from donations conducted for the relief work of large incidents or emergencies to donations made both regularly and for emergencies;

(d)the transformation of unified fund-raising mode to a multiple mode. These changes were even more distinctly demonstrated in the RCSC' fund-raising campaigns after 2007. The “5·12 Wenchuan Earthquake”, in particular, further enriched the content of non-governmental donations. The simple concept of donating money or material resources has been changed. Businesses and individuals have donated not only money and material, but also other resources, forming a multi-dimensional mode of donations. According to the statistics published by the Ministry of Civil Affairs, individual donations have exceeded that of the businesses. The fund-raising mode of the RCSC extensively extended from the simply accepting material donations to accepting service donations such as public service, advertising service, technological and informational service, and human resources service as well as movable or immovable property donations, such as houses, cars, etc. For example, the

railway transportation companies, civil aviation companies, motor clubs, etc. all got involved in donating transportation services. During the Beijing Olympics, the RCSC accepted the public service advertising donations (about RMB80,000,000 Yuan) made by the CCTV. A large number of volunteers followed the principle of “let those with strength contribute strength” and devoted themselves to providing disaster relief service to the victims.

After the reform and opening-up, the RCSC gradually straightened out its relationship with the government and located their own positions in the administrative system. With the passage of time, its routine work has restored its nature of being a non-governmental organization dedicated to the cause of charity and humanitarianism. With the improvement of the social status of the RCSC, its political and administrative color gradually fades away, and its image of being an organization free from any form of conflict concerning interest has been strengthened. In the meantime, it more and more inclines to demonstrate the properties of "humanitarian", "public welfare" and "independence", and therefore it can gain more and more social support.

5. Changes of the Fund-raising Mode of the RCSC

After the year 2004, great changes have occurred to the revenue structure and mode of resources mobilization, especially when the relationship between the RCSC and government has been straightened out. The Red Cross Society of China has defined itself as the "government' assistant in the field of the humanitarian work", so that it can accept the commissions of the government to assist the government in conducting humanitarian relief operations.

Although they all respect the independence of the Red Cross societies, these governments all intend to exert influence on the development of the Red Cross societies via various policies, such as direct funding, purchase of services etc. The influence can be seen in the following aspects: firstly, under the

intervention of the government, the leaders of many countries take honorary posts in the Red Cross Societies and some government officials also serve as the councilors of the branches of the RCSC. In fact, apart from the Red Cross societies in countries like the United States and Australia which reject or accept little government funding, many Red Cross societies in other countries accept the direct funding of the government; secondly, the government allocates a certain amount of grant for a certain operation, for example, disaster relief and aid the foreign countries; thirdly, the government helps the Red Cross societies to collect social donations of money and material. For instance, the Red Cross Society of South Korea, with the support of the government, encourages common people to join in it and pay membership dues. The dues collected in this way accounting for 85% of the annual revenue of the Red Cross Society of South Korea. The government of Norway allows the Red Cross Society in it to monopolize the business of slot machines.

Compared with other countries, many differences can be seen in Red Cross Society in China. Chinese government encourages the development of the Red Cross Society with direct administrative means, which is rare in other countries. For instance, in November 2004, the Chinese government issued the document *Notification on Further Strengthen the Work of the Red Cross Society* (Issued by State Council /2004/ Article NO.85). This is the first document regarding the development of the RCSC issued by the State Council. It demanded that governments at different levels must support the work of the RCSC, that it should "make practical policies to help solve the difficulties and problems emerging in the development of the cause of the Red Cross Society", that it should give "funding support to the humanitarian relief operations conducted by the Red Cross Society" and that "preferential policies and supports should be given to the business or services run by the Red Cross Society". Obviously, the social system determines the flow of resources, which, in turn, affects the organizational structure of the RCSC.

With vigorous support of the government and the preferential policies, the revenue structure and fund-raising mode of the RCSC starts to form its own unique feature, i.e. it has formed the relation-oriented "cause-related marketing (henceforth CRM)". This feature can be demonstrated in the following three aspects:

5.1 System Design for the Integrated CRM

CRM refers to the dissemination of information related to projects of public welfare and the implementation effect of these projects, through which the donators can promote their image, realize their self value and acquire the pleasure of helping others as well as maintain a good relationship between the charity organizations, the donators and the public. On the other hand, the charity organizations should understand the needs of individual donators, assist them to design practical charity projects corresponding to the amount of their donations and the charity field they are interested in, develop a sense of serving the donators and creating values for the donators. The charity organizations can form a good interaction as well as a reciprocal relationship of mutual dependence with the donators; cultivate a number of loyal donation clients, so that the sustainability of the fund-raising work can be maintained.

The traditional marketing centers on trading. To trade, a person must have exchangeable resources. What are the resources of the Red Cross Society? Its resource is the connection established based on people's recognition of the "humanitarian concept" of the Red Cross Society. This connection is a valuable resource for the Red Cross Society. Therefore, it is important how to promote people's recognition of the "humanitarian concept", how to establish, maintain and develop a long-term and stable connection between the Red Cross Society and the donators. This is exactly the aim of integrated marketing communication (henceforth IMC). It should center on the brand of Red Cross,

utter the same voice, coordinate and combine various marketing and promotion tools to meet the needs of the donators.

To achieve this purpose, it has adopted three strategies. The first strategy is that the Red Cross Society of China has established the Funding Office adjusted and reinforced the Foundation of Red Cross Society of China, and set up the Project Management Office, which can provide a system guarantee to ensure that the sufficient resources have been invested into the funding work of the RCSC. The second strategy is that the RCSC has established and tried to promote the topic: "Red Cross--the Strength of Humanitarianism". In the process of resource mobilization, a structure of "comprehensive, multilayered, various and multidimensional" has been formed. The Head of the General Office of the RCSC explained that: "comprehensive" means that the promotion and marketing should be carried out in every aspects of the work of the RCSC. It should conduct marketing when carrying out its service work, and promote the development of its working sphere in the process of marketing; "multilayered" means that the RCSC and RCSC branches at every level of the government should work together, coordinate with each other so that a unified force can be formed to create even bigger influence; "various" means that promotion strategy and cooperation mode should be diversified, so that various social resources can be actively mobilized and they cooperate with each other to make up for the disadvantages; "Multidimensional" means that the deployment and application of activities, media and advertisement should all be put into use, so that an optimized combination of marketing tools could be realized.

For instance, the RCSC has launched the "Philanthropy Week of Red Cross Society in May and August" and the "Propaganda Month of the Red Cross Public Service Advertisement" since 2006. The Red Cross Society around the country conducts activities in the same time with the same topic and for the same purpose. They make use of special events, cooperation between media,

public service advertisements to promote the spirit of Red Cross. Through news reports, releasing public service advertisements, printing and distributing propaganda material, organizing large-scale promotion activities, the Red Cross societies branches have given full display to the multidimensional integration of diverse forms of mass media, such as TV, newspapers, magazines, broadcasts, internet, cell phones, subways, buses, buildings and bulletins etc. Thus the spirit, idea, value and culture of the Red Cross as well as its various professional work can be fully covered.

Thirdly, it cooperates with other charity organization, cultural companies, and other social forces to establish "five supporting system": (1)inviting famous experts and scholars to form a propaganda committee so as to provide intelligence support; (2)organizing the journalist and news reporters to form a " Voluntary service team of news report" so as to provide mass media support; (3)establishing strategic cooperative relationship with the mass media companies who are in possession of rich advertising resources, so as to provide advertising support; (4)signing contracts with public relation companies which are capable of funding and executing, so as to provide project planning support; (5)seeking charity sponsorship to establish propaganda foundation, so as to provide sustainable funding support.

5.2 Establishing a CRM Network based on the Cooperation

It mainly needs to handle four relationships in a proper way. The four relationships include the following :(1) the relationship with the government. It should seek the support of the high-ranking officials of the government; (2) the relationship with the businesses. That is, it should organize a "Charity Business Federation of the Red Cross Society of China"; (3) the relationship with the public. That is, it should create some brand projects of the RCSC; (4) the relationship with the public figures. That is, it should build up a stable

connection with some public figures so as to form a large number of funding partners. To build up the four relationships mentioned above, the RCSC need to work in a flexible way. It needs to draw strong support from government to construct a charity funding platform. It should make use of enterprise right to establish strategic cooperation partner relationship. Meanwhile, it should rally support from the public the widest participation to set up the Red Cross brand and form a stable partnership with public figures.

Firstly, it should make use of the administrative strength. As an independent humanitarian organization, the mobilization of social resources shouldn't be carried by implementing the administrative orders of the government. Instead, it should take the practical needs of the Red Cross societies of different places into consideration, and "persuade" the government to coordinate with the RCSC through negotiation. The major measures include taking initiative to report to the government and actively build up relationship with the leaders. For example, Pen Peiyun, the President of RCSC, is also the Vice Chairman of the NPC. She has broad government connections and can mobilize political resources by organizing meetings, issuing documents, inspections and investigations.

Secondly, it can build up connections and cooperative relationship with some enterprises, especially some large state-run enterprises, private enterprises and transnational companies in China by organizing gatherings of donation enterprises, forming regular meeting system with large enterprises, private enterprises and transnational companies, or by attracting the interest of some enterprises by establishing named foundations, special foundations as well as signing contracts to form strategic partnership. This is a strategy that can realize a win-win situation. According to the incomplete statistics of the RCSC, the projects and foundations established by the Red Cross Society has reached as many as 270. For example, "China Red Cross Merchants Securities Philanthropy Foundation", "Philip Charity Foundation" that is dedicated to

assist the medical care in rural area, "Jinghua Angel Foundation", "Biostime China Mother-Baby Charity Foundation" that is dedicated to help babies with severe disease, etc. These foundations have taken the needs of the donators and the initiators into full consideration. The donators are allowed to take part in the decision-making and supervision or even in the implementation of the projects. By so doing, the needs of the donators and the purpose of the charity organizations are combined, which not only creates values for the donators but also helpful for the formation of a strategic partnership with the donators. Once a benefit community is formed, it can provide sufficient funding resources for the sustainable development of charity organizations.

The third focus is to help the ordinary people through the way of voluntary work done by ordinary people with the emphasis on the critical and hard issue of the CPC and the government concerned. The RCSC hopes to relieve the worries of the government and help the public to solve the unsettled problems. For instance "Sending Kindness to Ten Thousand Families by RCSC" project has received 5 million fund supports from the National Lottery Fund. The local branches of the RCSC in Shanghai, Chongqing, Tianjin, etc had carried out a succession of programs like "Helping thousands of families" " Five one-hundred projects" " assistance projects", etc. These programs get great amount of response from the public. The action of sending care of the RCSC into the community and the public who are in financial troubles improved the fame and reputation of the RCSC. In addition, across the whole nation, over 3,700 RCSC voluntary service teams are being established, with a membership of over 1,530,000. These volunteers provide abundant human resources for the development of the RCSC, enabling the RCSC to extend and develop more widely.

The fourth working focus is to establish long-term relationship with the social celebrities to persuade them to make contributions. For instance, Li Chunping

promised to donate 10 million Yuan to assist the poor peasants to participate in the program of “New Cooperative Medical Care and Serious Illness Treatment”. This is the first program fund the RCSC has set up. The RCSC also made cooperation with movie star Li Lianjie, setting up “Li Lianjie Fund”, and with popular singer Wang Fei to set up “Yan Ran Angel Fund” to heal the children with cleft lip.

In conclusion, judging from the relationship between the RCSC and the government, enterprises, social celebrities and the ordinary citizens, the RCSC clearly has changed the traditional marketing strategy centering on exchange of commodities. It, instead, revolves around the center of setting up, maintaining and developing relationships with the existing and potential customer. This kind of strategy is defined as “non-profitable marketing”. The aim is to improve the image of the donors, to make them achieve their own values, acquiring the happiness of helping others, maintaining a good relationship between the NGOs and the donors as well as the public in the process of carrying out the practical work. All these approaches would help to maintain a number of faithful donors, keeping the sustainable development of the RCSC in the process of fund-raising and improve continuously the RCSC’s relief abilities.

5.3 Establishment of a Socialized, Open and Non-profitable Operating Mechanism

Donation from the society is the primary source of funds for the Red Cross. In the revenue of the year from 2006 to 2007, the donation in the form of money and materials from the public and social organizations at home made up more than 60% of the total income of the Red Cross. The main revenue source has transformed from mainly reliance on government fund and overseas donation in the past to mainly on the corporate, public and society at present. In the year 2007, domestic donation has witnessed an increase of nearly 13 times compared

to the year 2000. In 2008, over 70,000,000 people participated in the "10699993"³⁴ non-profitable short message donation, with the total amount exceeding 200 million RMB. That has created new record in the world of raising money through text messaging. The director of the Red Cross Society of China (RCSC), who is responsible for mobilizing resources, announced that:

(RCSC) has fully mobilized and taken the most use of all kinds of social resources to strive for the broad participation of all the walks of the society; it will try its best to win over the support from the communist party, the government and all other relevant governmental departments and will accomplish the projects commissioned by the government as well as fight for more in the future; actively carry out cooperation with enterprises and public institutions; enhance contacts and cooperation with other social organizations; strengthen the communication with social celebrities, volunteers, donors, and the beneficiaries. The RCSC has already established a "socialized, open" operating mechanism.

The relative achievements are mainly manifested into two aspects: (1) resource mobilization in the state of emergency. The so-called state of emergency refers to natural disasters and other major public events. The Red Cross originated from the relief work during the war. With a long tradition, the Red Cross can get access to reliable fund, materials and volunteer work support in a short term. The roles of the Red Cross play in the field of disaster relief, rescue, and treatment have been widely recognized by the whole society.

For instance, the donation for the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami has become a landmark and turning point in the history of the RCSC; In 2005, " RCSC emergency plan for the natural disasters and other abrupt public events was taken into the national overall emergency plan system with other 80 departments emergency plan, which marked the emergency plan of the Red

³⁴Interview data with the RCSC,2010.

Cross had become an indispensable part of the whole country's emergency plan; during the Wenchuan earthquake relief work in 2008, the RCSC raised worth over 190 billion funds and materials from home and abroad; in 2008, the RCSC mobilized 8 million volunteers to provide services for the Beijing Olympic Games. All these activities have become an important opportunity for the RCSC to expand its influence in the country, to enhance its overwhelming majority position.

(2) Resource mobilization in the normal state. On the whole, in the actual process of fund-raising, the donation for a specific disaster, war turmoil, etc can easily win the support from the citizens, while, it is becoming more and more difficult to get response from the general public for the donations without a specific aim, which makes it difficult for a lot of NGOs to raise funds to support and maintain their own developments. For the general public, they are willing to make donations for a certain project rather than donate for an organization. Therefore, one of the directions of the future development for these NGOs is to establish the "organization" awareness, and mobilize public participation in the way of "project operation". Among them, the core for the future resource mobilization in the normal state is the "organization" and "project". In the actual practice of resource mobilization for the RCSC, it takes the cycling non-profitable model of "RCSC organization- RCSC commodities – RCSC consumption - RCSC project". Namely, to promote the credibility of the project under the name of RCSC and to support the name of RCSC through the serving projects, in this way, the RCSC organization and project would get upgraded at the same time. The following article will illustrate this model by using the story of RCSC project-Particles³⁵.

Particle, a caring group of Qingdao City, is formed in the process of the RCSC branch mobilizing the local citizens to participate voluntarily in the social

³⁵Sources from: the RCSC branch in Qingdao, 2009.

welfare work. At present, “Particle” has already become a renowned name in the welfare business of Qingdao City. In 2004, a middle-aged couple walked into the RCSC Qingdao branch, took out \$ 50,000 in cash, said they would donate all the money on behalf of a friend. The working staff required their names in the process of issuing a receipt. This couple said: "what we do is very small, just like a small and insignificant particle. If the name is required, then just write particle ". The story of the middle aged couple donating money in the pseudonym "particle" aroused widespread public attention from the media and public. Thus, the whole city started a movement looking for "particles". Many people want to do something nice in their own way rather than acquire for fame and profit. "I have heard that many people sign their names as “particle” when they do some contributions, so I would also like to sign as ‘particle’. Many people donated in a quiet name, without signing their real name, nor did they show off thereafter. That is the spirit of “particle”.

In order to carry forward the spirit of the "particle", the RCSC Qingdao branch designed and registered the brand name "particle". Those "particles" evoked the caring heart of the public through their own trying. In a short time, the public broke out a great deal of force. The RCSC Qingdao branch united the local post office, designed the “particle” postcard with a price of 10 Yuan for each stamped postcard. All the money obtained from this project would be used by the Red Cross to undergo public welfare projects. At present, the RCSC branch in Qingdao has developed three series of products, including “Particle Car Club” “Particles Charity Shop”, “Particles Souvenirs”. The Qingdao RCSC raised money and established assistance fund through the way of charity sales. At the same time, Qingdao RCSC also launched the “caring for life” particles relief project in the hope of promoting the Red Cross spirit of "humanity, fraternity and dedication". Now, the name of “particle” was selected as the 2004 "Who Moved Qingdao" Top Ten Special characters, the Second National Social Welfare Star in 2005, the First China Charity Award in 2005, the annual Top

Ten News figures in 2006, in Shandong Province, the CCTV "Who Moved China" " person of the year in 2006, "Shandong Province Moral Model" in 2007.

That is the best manifestation for the cycling public welfare model of the RCSC "name—commodity—consumption—program". That is also the turning point for the RCSC to transfer to a "socialized and open" non-profitable organization. This transformation has already become the common action throughout the RCSC entire system. With a series of socialization operation mode and a broad coalition, as well as mobilizing various social resources, the RCSC has already successfully transformed its pattern of revenue resource reliance from mainly reliance on the government and overseas donors in the past to the current donation mode dominated by the donation from the enterprises, the public and the society at home, etc. The proportion of domestic donation in the whole revenue of the RCSC increased at a tremendous speed, for instance, the domestic donation in 2007 at home increased nearly 12 times than that of 2000.

6. Conclusion

One common feature can be spotted from the RCSC resource mobilization practice, regardless of whether it was in the early stage or in the later period. That is, mobilizing the public in an urgent background with abrupt movements. Humanitarian belief played an important role in the process of resource mobilization.

On the other hand, the spirit of advocating independence and the pursuit of fraternity inside the Red Cross is something China borrowed from western society. The RCSC, actually, has already undergone some useful explorations. In the early period, the promulgators of the RCSC combined the humanitarian spirit with the unique Chinese elements like "the accumulation of merit. ", "patriotism ", " compatriots love ", etc. They adopt various means of publicity to

stimulate the compassionate feelings of the people to get resource mobilization, which can be regarded as a means of innovation in the field of raising funds. In the later stage, the RCSC had adopted various kinds of modernized ways to mobilize the relevant resources, like the relationship-oriented, network alliances, public marketing, etc. And the RCSC also went on valuable exploration in the “socialized and open” operating mechanism, from which we can spot the change of the time.

The resource refers to the capability of making things happen (Giddens, 1981, 170). To mobilize resources is to obtain that capability. Since McCarthy and Zald (1977:1216) had proposed resource mobilization theory, numerous researchers have done a lot of research revolving around resource mobilization and resource dependence. Two focuses can be spotted in their researches, first, the intervention of executive powers in the resource mobilization process and second the NGO "dependent structure" caused by too much reliance on the government. These two aspects affect the neutrality and independence of the NGOs. After the establishment of People's Republic of China, under the circumstance of the state power controlling all resources, the RCSC relied on the support of the executive powers to undergo resource mobilization. It is clear that the mobilizing ability of the RCSC resembled the characteristics of mandatory and political exchange between the RCSC and the Chinese government. The reliance on the administrative power to mobilize resources is both beneficial and harmful to the development of the RCSC. The bad influence is that the RCSC would be criticized for being over-administrative, creating the image of not neutral and independent. If the resource origin of the NGOs can be truly diversified, the neutrality or independence of these NGOs may not be a "myth" (Wang Shaoguang, 2004). The RCSC has already done a lot of effort in the process of being independent.

Still, there are three problems to face. The first problem remains to be the

mandatory and political characteristics of the RCSC in the process of resource mobilization. The donation of the RCSC often causes controversy for whether it is assigned or required by the government or it is truly voluntary individual behavior. The so-called "required donation", by its very nature, is to beg by force, which is inconsistent with the principle of voluntary donations. The executive power, which is on behalf of the state power, is deeply rooted in the RCSC. The tendency of the government is implemented through the rule of the party members and leaders. Therefore, the dependence or obedience on government for RCSC members is not just obedience for the dominant resource possessor, but also obedience to the national power. As a government-run NGO (GONGOs), the RCSC is different from those grass-rooted NGOs in every level, from its internal system, structural characteristics, and decision making to the distribution of resources within the organization. The consequence is that political reliant characteristics of the RCSC to the government for resources mobilization. Therefore, it is not strange that we often hear that the donation is political, which refers to the distinctive mandatory characteristic of the government-run NGO in the donation practice.

The second problem is how the Red Cross spirit of being independent and fraternity be preserved intact in facing the mighty leadership from the CPC and government. It is a problem needs to be explored.

The third problem is the issue of credibility. Credibility is the essence for NGOs to survive. Nearly half of the donors in China donate directly to the recipients rather than through the NGOs. This fact shows that the credibility of the NGOs in China is quite weak. As a NGO strongly supported by the government, the RCSC does not possess the administrative power of the government agencies, nor does it own profitable business. The credibility is the intangible asset for RCSC. With the credibility, the RCSC is able to take in more and more tangible asset like money. Just like Jiang Yiman, the standing vice chairman of the

RCSC, said “Nowadays, it is much easier than before to raise the fund. More and more people and corporations are donating voluntarily and asking for cooperation with the RCSC.” However, “once trust crisis happens, the fund-raising activity of the RCSC in the following years would be devastated”. Consequently, the problem of improving credibility appears.

For instance, on May 20th, 2009, an announcement “the solemn declaration of the RCSC for the application and funding procedure of the ‘Little Angel Fund’” was disclosed at the website of the RCSC. The announcement uncovered the truth that lot of money were falsely claimed and diverted since the year 2007. Due to the lack of transparency, social provision, the “Little Angel Fund” was in disorder concerning about the finance management. As a result, up to hundreds of thousands yuan was diverted by a volunteer worker in the fund. This incident directly led to the absence of credibility for the RCSC. Another example of this kind happened on June 21st, 2011. A girl named “Guo Meimei”, who claimed to be the “business general manager for the RCSC”, showed off her wealth on the internet. Her behavior made the public feel furious. The image of the RCSC was damaged and the following donations from the society dropped sharply.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the credibility is not just propaganda; rather it is to obey the rules, to be open, transparent and willing to accept social supervision. These three elements are indispensable for the maintenance of credibility. As a bridge between the resource provider and resource demander, the RCSC needs to improve its credibility to win the trust of both sides in order to mobilize and employ more social resources. The problem of credibility is one of the issues the RCSC and other NGOs need to face. Credibility is critical both for the survival of the RCSC and its development in the future.

Chapter 5: Reinvented Organization

1. Introduction

Since the reform and opening up, China's non-governmental organizations, as "a part of the global revolution of association forming" (Wang Shaoguang, 2007), have been growing stably as a whole, among which a few have even taken on a rather rapid development. Until the end of 2008, there were up to 414,000 NGOs in China; the number of NGOs almost tripled in the 10 years from 1999 to 2008, with an annual growth of 9.6%. Moreover, Red Cross Society of China, as an individual organization, has undergone a tremendously rapid development. Since its restructuring in 1950, it has developed from an organization with merely 80 branches and around 300,000 members, to a huge organization in 2009, with 91,000 grass-roots units and 25,850,000 individual members among which 13,800,000 were teenagers. So compared with that in 1950, the number of the Red Cross grass-roots units has increased by over 1000 times, and that of the individual members, more than 86 times. How could an organization have developed so rapidly? What are the affecting factors? And in what way do they develop?

According to studies of the Institutional School, it is from certain institutional environments that gradually evolve the structure, operation, existence and development of an organization, and the emergence and activities of NGOs are reflections of some specific institutional factors and state policies (Wang Shitu, Guan Youyuan, & Li Yixin, 2009:26). Therefore, the significances, goals and organizational operations of NGOs will differ from state system to state system. "In democratic countries," just as de Tocqueville pointed out, "every citizen enjoys independence, but an individual barely has enough power to establish any significant enterprises totally on his own, for nobody has a right to force help out of others. So they would fall into complete impotence if they couldn't

get united by themselves” (P.636-637). The need for effective influence in the modern society leads to the popularity of NGOs. In China, Chairman Mao Zedong used to put great weight to the public power, emphasizing an effective organization of this power. He said, “And we should maneuver the majority of the Chinese citizens into organizations of, like, political, military, economic, and cultural kind, thus to terminate old China’s unorganized state...” The unit system (Dan Wei Zhi) was designed to meet such a need, made the whole society highly organized, taking almost every single citizen as well as every inch of the territory and every aspect of social life under state control. As a result, a high-degree social integration was realized all over China. So apparently, an NGO is closely related with the system of its society.

DiMaggio and Anheier (1990) showed that the rise of NGOs is indispensably linked with three institutional factors: (1) significant decisions; (2) public policies; (3) ideological trend. Since it is by men that an institution is considered, the function of an institution can only be realized by the subjective initiative of its people. Therefore, it is necessary to add another factor, that is, the key persons. Seen from the perspective of its organizational process, the RCSC has undergone three phases: initially a cooperative association jointly run by the government and the business community; then an administrative organization affiliated to the government; and then a reinvented organization detached from the government administration, or say, a socialized organization, after the issue and enforcement of “the Red Cross Law”. This chapter intends to make some explorations on this process from the perspective of the rationalization of its regulatory system.

2. Management System and Organizational Autonomy

Management systems are primarily a systematic concept. In the academic circle, it can have several different meanings: first, it means a body of formal policies

and regulations, contrasted with concept, organization, and mechanism; second, paralleled with mechanism, it is interpreted as a system of policies and regulations with formal or informal restrictions (in the case of informal restrictions, it is a combination of common understandings or philosophies with organizational structures); third, it is regarded as an organism, with its system of policies and regulations, system of organizational structure, and the corresponding operational mechanism interacting with one another. Seen from its practical development, the management system of the RCSC involves three levels:

(1) On the level of policies and regulations, it deals with the division of powers and functions, sets the management target and domain, and establishes laws and policies to provide basic references for management.

(2) On the level of the organizational structure, it establishes the organizations' management system, and deals with the division of the internal sections and the setting of roles in the organizations, etc.

(3) On the level of mechanism, it supervises the process, procedure and mode of the patterning operation and the patterning interactions of the subsystems and factors of the whole system.

The management system in reality is actually an organism of all the above three aspects closely interacting with one another. The policies and regulations provide a framework and operational space for the management system; the organizational structure, in essence, is the executor and dynamic carrier of the management functions; while the management mechanism, as the most active and mobile part, takes charge of the mechanism, pattern and functioning mode of the concrete operations of the system on the basis of certain policies and organizational structure. The case is the same in the management system of the RCSC, with three key aspects needed to be rationalized: (1) its relationship with

the CPC and the government in institution; (2) its role and service domain in organization; (3) its maneuver of social resources and operation of social services in mechanism. A rationalization of the Red Cross' management system will help it operate independently and autonomously to its own characteristics.

Autonomy is a classic summary of the common attribute of all NGOs proposed by Lester Salamon and Helmut Anheier, stressing the NGOs' autonomy in its organization, management, activities and development. This autonomy is reflected by its independent orientation of value as well as all its operation sectors including independent personnel, financial and policy-making management systems, etc. Hence, a social organization without the right of self-management and independence of making its own policies, in a strict sense, cannot be called an NGO, for it will have no way to realize its functions. Therefore, autonomy serves as the foundation of an NGO's existence and development, the precondition for the successful achievement of its goals and an important part of its desirable evolution.

It is a popular view in the current academic circle that China's social organizations generally have no or at least insufficient autonomy. "Under the macro-political control in China, it's impossible for NGOs to operate with real autonomy." (Ma Qiusha, 2006:11) And according to Professor He Zengke, many studies have shown that China's social organizations do not have much autonomy (2006, 6). It is demonstrated that these organizations, state-owned or not, have more or less become accustomed to relying on the government, and consequently have little autonomy. Other scholars have also pointed out that "government ability" and "asymmetric dependence" is important features of China's non-profit organizations (Kang Xiaoguang, 1999:222).

How then can we account for the explosive growth of the RCSC? What really matters consists not in whether the Red Cross operates autonomously or not, but how it achieved or lost its autonomy.

In the nine National Conventions from 1949 to 2009, the RCSC laid down the nine Chinese Red Cross Statutes (Statutes for short in the following). Taking 1978 as a watershed, the three decades before it witnessed two National Conventions, which made two revisions to the Statutes altogether, and seven National Conventions were held in the thirty years after it, revising the Statutes up to seven times. In 1993, the Red Cross Law of People's Republic of China (Red Cross Law for short in the following) was issued and put into effect, redefining the aim and nature of the RCSC and thus providing a legal ground for its services. The Statutes standardize, in written form, the RCSC's organizational rules or internal relations, and also serve as a witness of this organization's accomplishments at a specific stage. We can see a clear panorama of RCSC's evolutionary history and its growth out of these nine Statutes and the Red Cross Law, and from them the answer can be found as to how RCSC lost and then resumed its independence and autonomy.

2.1 Administration and De-administration

Since 1949, Red Cross Society of China has gone through four phases—the Socialist transforming and constructing period (1950-1965), during the ten years of “Cultural Revolution”, the reviving and developing period (1978-1992), and after the issue of “the Red Cross Law” (1993 until now)—each with their own distinct developing strategies.

In its developing history, RCSC experienced two transformations of management system. Ever since 1949, the political system of China, to accord with the planned economy adopted then, gradually evolved into a highly-developed and unified centralization of authority, based on the unit system (danweizhi). By dividing all the members into units (danwei) and then exerting supervision on these units (danwei) with varied approaches³⁶, chiefly

³⁶See For example, Yang Xiaoming etc., *Dan Wei System of China*, China Economic Press.1991. And Li Meng, Zhou Feizhou, Li Kang, *Dan Wei(Unit): the Internal Mechanism of Organization Institution*.

political surveillance and punishment principle, the government realized its full control and management of the whole society. Under such a system, a NGO could not find its independent position in the society nor legitimacy (legality) other than to exist as an affiliate to the government or within the system of the government. Thus, the social organizations in China arise merely to establish the CPC and the government's connection with the masses. Wu Yunfu's speech in the RCSC 1st National Convention demonstrated such a nature of this organization:

“Red Cross Society of China is people's society. It should serve as a link between the government and the people, assisting the government in treating the wound in the wartime and extending relief to the disaster-stricken people by mobilizing and organizing, on an appropriate scale, manpower as well as material and financial resources. All in all, its obligation is to serve for people by relying on people.”

2.2 Transformation

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the whole China took on a fresh look, innumerable tasks waiting to be undertaken. Many NGOs, including RCSC, were faced with a life-or-death challenge under a re-evaluation of a new regime. And this challenge might lead to their direct annihilation or transformation. RCSC at that time, with its president fleeing to Taiwan with Kuomintang and only secretary-general available in Shanghai, became a trouble in determining its future.

As a neutral agency, RCSC didn't hold much authority in developing its programs before the collapse of Kuomintang government. And it could not meet the new China's urgent demand of treating the wound and relieving the suffered at all, with its structure full of flaws and many tasks suspended. So a change

Chinese Social Science Quarterly (Hong Kong), August, 1996:89—108.

was undoubtedly needed. But why a transformation was chosen at last instead of any other? A memoir of Zhu Zihui(2006:899) gave the answer:

“In the spring of 1949, Red Cross Society of China, realizing that the establishment of a new China had been certain, decided to send a mission to give a report of the society’s work to the new central government in Beijing. I, as a secretary, with five League members, went to the newly-founded Ministry of Public Health and our report was submitted to Premier Zhou Enlai, according to whose instruction, four basic principles were established in disposing of the Red Cross: (1) Regarding its attributes and historical traditions, Red Cross Society of China, instead of being overtaken by the government, should be transformed into a Red Cross of the new Socialist China from its old system; (2) The National Society should be moved to Beijing and all the current staff should remain at their positions unless they themselves are unwilling to stay; (3) The assets of the Society should be properly maintained rather than casually disposed of; (4) The transformation should be done to organizational norm of the International Red Cross, consulting ‘the mode of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC)’.”

Then on August 2, 1950, the consultative conference of Red Cross Society of China was held to discuss the transformation. It was concluded “Its function was to assist the government, via serving for people on their stand, by winning masses support for the government and strengthening the links between the masses and the government.” The delegates present at the conference come from three sides— the original staff of the Red Cross and representatives from the central government and from the other social organizations, which reflected the extensiveness of the represented range and the democracy of the consultation. Then after the transformation, RCSC gained its legitimacy and

was accepted as its official member by the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the first international organization the new China joined in since its founding. And it was in this consultative conference, instead of the RCSC National Convention, where the first “Statute” was passed.

2.3 From “Classified Instruction Mode” to “Dual Management”

Out of the “Statute” issued in 1950, we learn the nature, aim, task and fund sources of RCSC at the beginning of new China. According to it, RCSC is “a relief organization of public health under the leadership of the central government”, with two major tasks: (1) internationally, to keep in contact with and provide aids to the other countries and maintain the peace of the world; (2) domestically, to provide services in medical health and social welfare, “aiming at assisting the governments at all levels to publicize and spread the welfare cause of epidemic prevention, health, medicine and relief among the public.” “for example, the section of health in its business is also governed by the Ministry of Health, and the central Ministry of Foreign Affairs gives its instructions when diplomatic issues are concerned.” In such a mode, the management responsibility and authority of the other departments are comparatively limited, and thus Red RCSC actually remains its relative independence.

“And Red Cross Society of China has the right to spread in cities and counties its branches, which can further spread their own subdivisions.” And these branches and subdivisions also manage to maintain their relative independence, too. And “the Society and its branches hold a convention every other year”. But the 1950 Statute, in its social circumstance then, didn’t prescribe when a national convention be held.

RCSC collects its fund from multiple channels— besides “its chief income from its membership dues and business income”, also “subsidy from the

government and voluntary donations from the society” when it encounters financial inadequacy. RCSC bears an intensive dependence on and holds a loyal cooperative relationship with the government ever since its transformation, which is clearly illustrated in its acceptance of the central government’s supervision and financial support as well as its presidential position being assumed by Wu Yunfu, the vice minister of Ministry of Health.

Generally speaking, in 1950s, RCSC, as a competent assistant of the government, excellently fulfilled its unique functions as a NGO in popularizing health knowledge, providing first-aid training, relieving disasters, helping the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), and assisting the Japanese Chinese to return to the homeland, etc.

However, its cooperation with the government was not smooth enough⁸, due to such reasons as its shortage of manpower, “its low prestige and influence among the people”, “its inactivity in communication and cooperation with the instructing departments”, “too much scruple and hesitation in its work”³⁷. But as a mass organization, it should go all out to mobilize and unify the public power with a well-prepared and multi-functional mission to realize specific labor division, close cooperation and flexible maneuver in the suddenly arising tasks.

Accordingly, the management system and operational structure of the Chinese Red Cross were re-transformed again in 1956, aiming at establishing Provincial (Autonomous Regional/Municipality), and prefecture and County Red Cross branches. So a new mechanism with a stratified structure and “dual management” system preliminarily came into being. Previously, the Ministry of Health governed the National Society of the RCSC, who directly managed all the local branches. Now the new pattern was that, in the four levels of the RCSC, namely, the National Society, the Provincial (Autonomous

³⁷ Interview data with The RCSC, 001,2009.

Regional/Municipality) level, the Prefecture level, and the County level, each branch was only under the direct leadership of its immediate super-ordinate, namely, the Prefecture and County Red Cross branches were governed by the Provincial (Autonomous Regional/Municipality) branches, who accepted the supervision of the National Society by reporting their performances to it every year; in the meantime, each level was also in the charge of its own local CPC and governmental as well as the health departments.

2.4 The Ministry of Health-governing Mode

In 1952, Premier Zhou Enlai directed that the Chinese Red Cross be put in the direct charge of the Ministry of Health, and soon the classified instruction mode was replaced by “the Ministry of Health-governing mode”.

In the October of 1952, RCSC National Society, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Internal Affairs gave a joint notice, prescribing that the RCSC at all level work together with the health departments.

In the winter of 1955, the Chinese Red Cross worked together with China Relief Association, in accordance with the direction of Zhou Enlai,.

In 1956, the RCSC merged with China Relief Association.

In the October of 1958, the Training Department of the Red Cross Organization worked together with the Office of the Central Patriotic Health Campaign Committee.

The document “Joint notification about the operations of the Chinese Red Cross” given by the Ministry of Health and the RCSC in 1959 pointed out many merits of their integration, including “having a better regulation of the part-time and the full-time cadres (ganbu), thus greatly strengthening its leadership, making the gathering of power and unification of activities more convenient,

avoiding the wasteful duplication of agency, reducing conferences of similar nature, and simplifying the administrative procedures in the work” and facilitating the founding of grass-roots units and membership expanse with the help of government authority.

In the December of 1960, it was decided in the work meeting of the Ministry of Health that the RCSC worked together with its involved departments.

The reduction of personnel force and the simplification of the work procedures mentioned above were simply decided by the government, without a passage of the National Convention. “When the RCSC worked together with the Central Patriotic Health Campaign Committee, no executive council was held, nor was working conference, which led to a lack of coordinate plan and arrangement in the nationwide work and necessary surveys as well as experience sum-up³⁸. In consequence, the RCSC was governed with neither guiding principle nor concrete instruction, which the RCSC National Society should make a solemn introspection on and make a resolute determination to avoid in the future work.”⁹ Meanwhile, in its working together with the Ministry of Health, many local units, staff and cadres of the RCSC were pushed out, and many personnel quotas (bianzhi) were occupied by the Ministry of Health. The local agencies of RCSC underwent three different fates: the first kind, the personnel quotas (bianzhi) and the cadres managed to remain and the agencies continued to operate; the second one, although the personnel quotas (bianzhi) and the cadres remained, the operation fell into half or even complete suspension; the last one, the personnel quotas (bianzhi) and the agencies themselves were cancelled, with the staff removed, the work stopped and only their names kept. All these indicated that the RCSC, under a centralization of state power, lost its indispensable independence as a non-governmental organization and actually became an affiliate agency to the government (Ministry of Health).

³⁸ Interview data with The RCSC, 002,2009.

After the close integration of the RCSC and the health departments, the health stations—the utmost basic units of medical care and the centers of activity of the RCSC members, became public institutions in the charge of the grass-roots organs of the health departments. Therefore, the RCSC was reinvented from a widespread NGO to a trade organization of medical care.

Nevertheless, the RCSC achieved enormous development thanks to the administrative promotion. In 1960, the number of local Red Cross branches increased to 376 from the initial 80, with a growth of 20 in the Provincial (Autonomous Regional/Municipality) branches and 356 in the Prefecture and County branches. And its membership expanded to more than 5 million from 300,000 before its reinvention. Also over 1.8 million health workers received training and more than 50,000 health stations were established. However, problems lay in the constitution of the membership. “The RCSC branches chiefly consist of the people loving the work of public health, such as medical and health staff, health-trained people, health enthusiast, elementary and middle school students, etc.” So it showed that it was the health workers, with only limited medical training, who attended the health stations. And moreover, the activities of the members were held in these stations. These made the function of health workers even outweigh that of the members who were numerically fewer than the health workers and rarely manage to launch activities in such an unfavorable circumstance.

The RCSC 2nd National Convention was held on October 23, 1961, in which a new “Statute” was passed, the greatest changes produced by which included: (1) confirming the close integration of the RCSC and the health departments in organization and work, realizing coordinate guidance, planning and arrangement. The health stations of RCSC were merged into the grass-roots medical and health organs, still in the name of the RCSC but in the charge of representatives appointed by the health departments or directly guided by the

departments themselves. Superficially, these were still RCSC health stations, but they had actually turned into grass-roots health and medical organs, or say, health and medical units of the government. So the same agencies played two roles—the RCSC branches and at the same time the activity center of the members and health workers, which became an important experience of the Red Cross Society throughout its emergence and development in China and “served as the very beginning of its affiliation to the health departments”³⁹. (2) According to the “Statute”, the goals of RCSC were to “heal the wounded, rescue the dying, and practice revolutionary humanitarianism”. Putting “revolutionary” before “humanitarianism” aimed at stressing its revolutionary quality and differentiating its humanitarianism from that of bourgeoisie, which were the political demand of the class struggle in that age. And due to the tense international situation, the “Statute” even added “providing first-aid training concerning national defense (i.e. air defense, poison defense, and atomic explosion defense) to its tasks”.(3) The RCSC should develop its businesses “from the consideration of the producing and living of the mass and aiming at serving for these”. So the grass-roots agencies of the RCSC began to go into all kinds of social organizations and units (danwei), thus increasing the social influence of its activities with each passing day. Each district of city (or its office), people’s commune of countryside (nongcun renmin gongshe) (or production brigade) (shengchan dadui), factory, mine and school can establish its own RCSC health station, and even each residents’ committee (jumin weiyuanhui), production brigade (or production teams) (shengchan dadui or shengchandui), workshop, mine shaft and class can also found RCSC health station. It was prescribed in the 1961 “Statute” that “the elementary students above 9 years old and the middle school students be permitted to join in the RCSC as young members” so as to enlarge the membership of the Red Cross enterprises. (4) The RCSC, as a non-governmental medical aid agency, was amateur in nature. (5) The membership dues could be reduced or remitted if

³⁹ Interview data with The RCSC, 001,2009.

necessary, and it was for free for group members. The membership dues were collected out of the members' willingness, and the funds needed in activities came from the administrative expenses.

2.5 The Discussion on the Appeal for “Independent System”

In the 1960s the RCSC was listed into non-governmental organizations and its nature finally got defined, and also the RCSC put forward its strongest appeals for independence, which it never gave up even though it ended up becoming an executive unit of the government. It emphasized that “the RCSC is not directly subordinate to the health departments, nor directly under the State Council” in its report to the central government. Also in the meetings held by the State Council in 1957 and 1958, it appealed “the RCSC should be independent”, and “it should be granted its own personnel quotas (bianzhi) and funds, and the central government should give its instructions to the work of the local RCSC”. The central government did satisfy its requests in practice. In 1964, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Health, the State Organization Commission, and the RCSC came up with a prescription on such issues as the personnel quotas and funding of the RCSC in their joint documents: “The personnel quotas (bianzhi) of the RCSC at all level should be included into the corresponding administrative personnel, categorized in the political party related and nongovernmental personnel, and it should be carried out properly; its administrative expenditure be covered by the subsidy to the political party-related and nongovernmental organizations, and the health business be subsidized every year under the name of ‘expenditure of public health’.” The funds of medical education and training were placed respectively into the categories of “the expenditure of education” and “the expenditure of cadres training”, which should be budgeted and submitted to the general budget of the local medical and health services.

However, the spirit of the document above was not put into effect in practice. Problems are as follows: (1) the funds of the RCSC were not fulfilled as the document prescribed, because the health departments could not afford it, and some departments never made any budget for the RCSC. For instance, the RCSC of Wuhan reported, “we receive from the Wuhan Health Bureau 5 Yuan every month, with which we could do nothing.” (2) The RCSC met with many obstructions without the support of the corresponding governments. Taking a report from the RCSC to the Party organization of the Ministry of Health on October 22, 1962 for example, it wrote “the RCSC of some districts were only regarded as a subordinate office to the health departments, with its cadres transferred at will and its work left undone. And some districts paid no heed to the existence of the RCSC, slackening or even giving up the leadership of it.” (3) The RCSC staff could not enjoy the salary as government cadres (with personnel quotas). Even though the State Council had defined the personnel quotas (bianzhi) of the local RCSC as 806, and gave specific personnel quotas (bianzhi) to the national as well as local RCSC in its documents respectively in 1953, 1956, 1958, 1963, and 1964, the RCSC staff, full-time or part-time, kept shrinking in reality because of the tight budget. For example, in 1956, the personnel quotas (bianzhi) granted to the RCSC by the State Council were 110, and the actual number of staff was 120, but after working together with China Relief Association in 1958, the number was greatly cut into 74 in 1960, less than 40 in 1961, and 32 in 1962. Except the RCSCs in Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai which possessed 20 quotas (bianzhi), those in other provinces and cities were merely given 1-4 quotas (bianzhi), and for the County Red Cross branches there were no quotas (bianzhi), and thus no funds, and they could only depend on the local medical and health departments, who only covered the services on their agenda. So the RCSC funds chiefly came from the membership dues, social donations and government allowances. Therefore, the RCSC had to maintain its nature and characteristic as a non-governmental organization, but its operation had been highly administered in that the

government used its form and operating procedure of a mass organization to deal with the diplomatic affairs and the issues of public health.

In short, merely two RCSC national conventions were held over a span of 17 years from 1949 to 1966; after its working together with the Central Patriotic Health Campaign Committee, neither “council meeting” no “working meeting” was held, leading to a lack of planning and concrete guidance and a situation that all the work of the RCSC just concentrated on the needs of the government; and after its integration with the Ministry of Health, “the work of the RCSC, taken as redundant and troublesome, was usually squeezed out due to a lack of coordinate plan or arrangement.”

But the RCSC never gave up its appeals for independent operation to the central government. Unfortunately, under such a highly centralized political system at that time, the RCSC did not have enough power to choose its own pattern of existence and development but be attached to the government, providing some minor supplementary services often regarded as duplicated and a burden. So only the RCSC in the 11 key cities like Shanghai and Wuhan were still active, chiefly to meet the government’s needs in the international activities. In an age focusing on “political correctness”, even the RCSC was permitted to exist in the government’s relevant policies and regulations, it could not find its proper position, so its branches fell into being merged, its work suspended or cancelled, and its overall operation under the “centralized guidance, planning and arrangement” of the government as an affiliate organ.

2.6 “Suspension of all without Exception”

During the Cultural Revolution, all the business of the RCSC, including membership affairs, membership dues, publicity of knowledge about the RCSC and the RCSC summer camp activities of teenagers, etc, came to a suspension, and the local RCSC branches were dissolved one by one, only with the National

Society maintained to deal with a few diplomatic activities occasionally.

But for the sake of the visits of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the doors of the Municipal Bureaus of Health of a few cities like Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangzhou and Wuhan, were kept open to the overseas under the name of “the Red Cross Society of China”. And the key Bureaus of Health even appointed one to three persons as full-time cadres of RCSC, who were claimed to the secretary-general of the RCSC with part-time job in the Ministry of Health, and who introduced the work of public health as the activities of RCSC. No individual members were developed, and the medical workers of the whole country, the barefoot doctors included, were taken as group members just for the sake of publicity.

So it is clearly seen that even the “Statute”, the framework document of the RCSC, could not be fully implemented in an age without a sound law system.

3. Gradual Socialization

3.1 From Business Independence to Organizational Independence

After the Cultural Revolution, the RCSC experienced an all-round development. Under the guideline of “to develop in accordance with the needs and existing conditions”, the RCSC put forward its claim for independence once again. In its “Report on the resumption of the domestic work of the RCSC” to the State Council on March 29, 1978, the RCSC demanded four items—“organizations, personnel, funds, and programs”.

On April 1, 1978, the State Council approved the “Report on the resumption of the domestic work of the RCSC” and forwarded it to the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Afterwards, the RCSC resumed the

organizations and business of its National Society and local organs in succession, under the management system of “classified instruction mode”—the domestic work in the supervision of the Ministry of Health and the foreign affairs under the direct leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. And the organizational activities of the members came back to be regular.

On February 20, 1979, the RCSC 3rd National Convention was held in Beijing, re-analyzing the significance of the RCSC: (1) the RCSC, taking “to heal the wounded, rescue the dying, and practice revolutionary humanitarianism” as its goal, accorded with the interests and needs of the people; (2) it was a good channel to establish friendly diplomatic relationship with other countries; (3) it was a good assistant of the health departments in the public health and relief work; (4) it provided a good way to mobilize and organize the mass for the establishment of a non-governmental medical health team; (5) the socialist construction needed the “non-governmental” service of the RCSC. And the conference passed a new “Statute”, which prescribed that the RCSC should “fulfill the tasks entrusted by the government”, and “the National Convention be held every 5 years, which could be advanced or postponed if necessary”. Then the RCSC managed to revive and develop gradually afterwards. But at that time the RCSC still held “revolutionary humanitarianism” as its goal, which indicated the remaining impact of the ultra-left thoughts on the RCSC at the beginning of the reform and opening up.

3.2 Seeking for “Chinese Characteristics”

Revisions began to be done to the old “Statute” all the way from the RCSC 4th National Convention held on May 31, 1985 to the final passage of a new “Statute” in the 5th National Convention in February, 1990. Since then, a new RCSC enterprise of Chinese characteristics came into view, with the following changes: firstly, its nature was defined as “a national organization of public

medical health and social welfare” and its goal was revised to “to practice humanitarianism” with “revolutionary” removed. The RCSC could “raise special funds for its public health and welfare services”; “apply for a remission or reduction of taxes or a privilege for the purchase and transportation of the relief and welfare supplies of the RCSC at all level”; “conduct social welfare activities” and “perform programs to achieve its goal”. Moreover, “to advocate, mobilize and organize the non-remunerated blood donation” were listed into its tasks for the first time.

Secondly, the service scope the RCSC kept expanding with the social development. Since the Reform and Opening up, the RCSC had been adapting itself to the trends of the times by actively participating in the international cooperation and enlarging the scope of its activity and influence. It was pointed out in the 1985“Statute” for the first time that it should promote its communication and cooperation with the Red Cross and the Red Crescent societies of the other countries. In the March of 1988, the Service Department for Taiwan Affairs was founded in the National Society of the RCSC under the permission of the Ministry of Labor and Personnel. And in 1990, the “Statute” put “providing services for the Taiwan affairs” into the tasks of the RCSC, in the hope of playing an irreplaceable role in the friendly contacts of the two sides of the Taiwan Straits as well as in the great cause of reunification.

Thirdly, the RCSC made a specification in its administrative levels. The 1985 “Statute” specified, for the first time, such issues as names, administrative levels, units of the National Society, local branches, grass-roots organs and member teams. In order to keep a close liaison with the government, the RCSC elected “Honorary President and Honorary Councilman” chiefly among the leaders in the government departments. And it absorbed “people from all walks of life in the society into the RCSC as volunteers, helping the operations of the RCSC at each level”. As a result, the social function of the RCSC got greatly

strengthened with a closer link with all circles of the society.

Fourthly, the RCSC had a stronger sense of independence. The “Statute”, passed in the RCSC 4th National Convention, defined it as “a national organization of public medical health and social welfare, with humanitarianism as its goal”. Then the 1990 “Statute” gave an even clearer definition to the RCSC and its divisions, that is, the RCSC “accepted the leadership of the State Council and the governments at all levels, but enjoyed independence and autonomy in its operation as a separate body corporate”. Compared with the previous definitions, the 1990 “Statute” especially emphasized on the “independence and autonomy in its operation” even though it still identified the RCSC as an assistant to the government in the humanitarian enterprises. So the RCSC was still under the leadership of the government but won more “independence and autonomy”.

However, the RCSC encountered many obstacles in its improvement of management system in practice, among which dealing with the relationship with the health departments was the most troublesome one, mainly because some provinces and cities neither allotted personnel quotas or funds to the RCSC nor set ranks for it at all. So the RCSC made stronger appeals respectively in “A tentative plan for the structural reform of the RCSC” (No. 008, 1988) submitted in 1988 and “A request for a structural reform of the RCSC” (No. 04, 1989) in 1989, in which it illustrated its nature, duty, the existing problems, and some tentative plans for a system reform, that is, “to rationalize the relationship with the government” and “to bring the organizational structure of the RCSC back to its previous state in 1950s”. But it didn’t receive support from the Ministry of Health and the State Council in its proposal.

So, the RCSC began its search for a new way out after realizing that it had to submit itself to the needs of the Party and the government when its “Statute”

went against their policies and that its goals had to agree with the existing institutional settings.

3.3 The Exploration of Commercialization

Commercialization was an available direction of efforts to solve the shortage of funds and end its complete reliance on the government in its funds and activities. When interviewed, all the staff, from the director to the workers, often complained of the limitation of power and the shortage of funds. Actually, financial independence was a key indicator of the autonomy of a non-governmental organization.

On a worldwide scale, financial dependence on the government is not peculiar to China's NGOs. For a non-profit organization, there are no more than such four sources of funds as social donation, service fees, governmental subsidies, and foreign aid, and all the NGOs in all countries more or less relied on the first three sources at least. Government grants are actually one of the major sources of the Third Sector's income in developed countries, while in the developing countries it is also a commonplace phenomenon for the government to offer financial aid to NGOs.¹¹ But to accept government grants doesn't mean to be controlled. The non-governmental organizations' conformity to the constitutional settings and financial reliance on the government should not lead to its inevitable loss of autonomy; conversely, the NGOs are not bound to possess autonomy even in liberal constitutional settings and with affluent resources. Whether a NGO can maintain its autonomy was determined more by its capacity and strategies in the practical operation than the constitutional settings it is in and its financial resources.¹²

First of all, it set up "economic entities of all sorts". As early as June 1, 1985, the 4th National Convention discussed and passed the working report "on actively developing medical health and social welfare business", and decided to

actively initiate and accumulate funds for these Red Cross enterprises and take versatile as well as flexible management modes in them, such as solely-invested form, jointly-invested form and affiliate form, etc. For example, the Beijing RCSC set up “the Red Cross health station”. With the permission of the Ministry of Health, the National Society of the RCSC opened the service company of RCSC in 1987, with independent accounting and full responsibility for its own profits and loss, and its employees were not included in the RCSC personnel.

During the reform of the economic system, all the Red Cross agencies came to a consensus that it should strengthen its power by establishing economic entities, providing services to the society and developing enterprises. So the 1990 “Statute” proclaimed that the RCSC had the right to set up “economic entities of all sorts” and the “income of these enterprises and economic entities” would be one of the major sources of RCSC funds. It also declared that “the RCSC and its local divisions could stage contribution-soliciting programs, and even establish foundations if possible, for the Red Cross development or disaster relief with the government’s approval.” Gradually the RCSC received its funds from diverse channels, like membership dues, donations, income from its business enterprises and then allowances from the relevant government departments, so it gradually shifted from a complete reliance on the government subsidies to chiefly self-dependence in fund-raising.

Most of the Red Cross entities were medical service organizations, some social service type, and a few economic enterprises, in which three operational modes could be found: institutions in the direct charge of the RCSC, organizations jointly sponsored with other departments, and service organizations just in the name of Red Cross. It was proved that “these organizations not only reflected its goals and brought about good social benefits, but also created wealth for the

state as well as made up for the shortage of funds in RCSC”.⁴⁰ A few Red Cross branches did so well in their business that they could almost afford their expenses on their own, thus easing the financial burden of the government. But there also happened wicked phenomena like making profits by barely selling the brand of Red Cross.

Secondly, it made efforts to win policy support. For example, the Chinese Red Cross Foundation was founded with the approval of the People’s Bank of China on December 27, 1993 and was registered in the Bureau of Civil Affairs on March 15, 1994. It was a non-profit organization providing specialized management for the donated funds at home and abroad, which “guaranteed the development of the Red Cross enterprises”. Previously, personnel quotas (bianzhi) and source of funds had been long-standing problems in the County Red Cross branches and above, which could be solved from the system, and whereby the construction of these branches could be strengthened and the Red Cross cause of Chinese characteristics could be smoothly carried out.

Thirdly, it began to improve its internal management system and increase its resources. For example, the 1990 “Statute” declared that the personnel (bianzhi) and funds of the local Red Cross branches above the county level (including cities, Qi, districts, and sub-districts of municipalities) “should be examined and approved by the local governments (and the related departments)”. Membership dues had been one of major sources of the Red Cross funds and the members should pay their dues as a basic obligation. And the 1990 “Statute” added “on time” for the first time when the payment of membership dues was mentioned. In fact, the RCSC published several related rules in order to standardize the payment, use and management of the membership dues, for instance, “Rules about the payment, use and management of the RCSC membership dues” was tentatively implemented in 1983 which was officially issued in 1993 and

⁴⁰ Interview data with Hubei branch of The RCSC, 004, 2008.

revised in 1994; “The charge and management methods of the RCSC membership dues” was formulated in 1997 and “The management methods of RCSC membership dues” in 2001.

Although commercialization indeed solved some funds problems of the Red Cross organizations, yet it did not accord with its humanitarian obligation, especially some commercial conducts like “selling the naming right of Red Cross” to some enterprises who neither participated in the Red Cross programs nor performed their obligations and who even violated professional ethics and ruined the reputation of the Red Cross. Some working staff interviewed reported that “some grass-roots Red Cross branches could give the brand of the Red Cross as a gift and indiscreetly approve a medical agency to use this name just over a hearty wine drinking. Consequently, the name of Red Cross appeared everywhere, and almost every local medical agency used it, so the brand lost its value”⁴¹.

Although the RCSC could earn income every year from its naming right, yet this could not be its aim. Moreover, even though the establishment of economic entities, such as “caring house”, could develop the Red Cross undertakings through industrialization and help it win its autonomy and independence and could be taken as a long-term developing goal, it encountered shortage of funds and many restrictions and it would keep distracting the RCSC from its humanitarian cause. So the director of the Hubei Red Cross Branch pointed out: “we should never forget our nature as a non-governmental group but not a commercial agency, so our main jobs are humanitarian relief and social welfare services, from which we should never deviate”⁴².

⁴¹ Interview data with Hubei branch of The RCSC, 005, 2008

⁴² Interview data with Hubei branch of The RCSC, 003, 2008.

4. “Independent Organizational System”

4.1 Two Key Documents

Lester Salamon, an American authority on the Third Sector, pointed out in his “The Rise of Non-profit Sector”, that “The most decisive factor that led to the growth of the Third Sector consists in the relationship it forged with the State. The Third Sector needs to find a way to compromise with the government, balancing its reliance on the legal and financial support of the government with its sufficient independence and autonomy.” According to him, the “way to compromise” is the key to problems.

The transformation of the government functions provided a good policy environment for the Red Cross development. This shift of the government functions, resulting from China’s restructuring of economic system, chiefly aimed at separating the government functions from the enterprise management, institution management and commune management, that is, the government could not govern concrete economic and social affairs directly with administrative measures. The 13th CPC National Congress, held in October, 1987, decided that the Party should rationalize its relations with the administrative government and with the mass, and the non-governmental organizations should be vested with rights to operate independently according to their own characteristics. So the chief leaders of the RCSC submitted to the central government “A tentative plan for the structural reform of the RCSC” (No. 008, 1988) and “A request for a structural reform of the RCSC” (No. 04, 1989), which were not approved because of the tense political environment at that time (the Tianenmen Incident took place on June 4th, 1989), but they laid a solid foundation for the Red Cross’ rationalization of its relationship with the government. Tan Yunhe, the vice president of the RCSC commented, the rationalization of its relationship with government and the independent

operation didn't mean a rejection of the leadership of the Party, instead, it meant "on the one hand, the RCSC will consolidate the supervision and coordination of the Party and the government by frequently consulting and reporting to the concerned government departments; on the other hand, it can independently perform its programs based on its 'Statute' and enjoy more autonomy in dealing with relations in all respects, thereby to provide a better assistance for the Party and government"(Tan Yunhe, 1990).

In the meantime, the 5th Red Cross Council and the Executive Committee put its legislation work on the agenda; officially drafting "the Red Cross Law", which was submitted to the National People's Congress (NPC) after several revisions and was passed in the 8th Standing Committee of NPC on October 31, 1993. So "the Red Cross Law of the People's Republic of China" ("the Red Cross Law" for short) came into being, which was a historical breakthrough for the RCSC. The "The Red Cross Law" manifested two important legal traits: (1) it defined the goals, nature, tasks and obligations of the RCSC, and its position as well as functions in the state and social life from the laws. The Red Cross' principles of unity and universality as well as its autonomy were put into legal provisions, which served as a legal guarantee for not only its rationalization of management system but its close link and cooperation with the government departments. (2) it takes "to protect the life and health of human-beings, practice humanitarianism, and promote the cause of peace and progress" as its goal, which elevated the significance of the Red Cross up to the height of human peace and social progress, thereby wiping out people's old impression on it and making the Red Cross spirit an important ethic norm in people's daily life.

The "The Red Cross Law" transferred the nature of the RCSC from "a people's health and relief organization" to "a humanitarian social relief organization". A revision was made to the "Statute" in the RCSC 6th National Convention on April 23, 1994 and it declared: (1) the virtual meaning of "to realize the

transformation of its vital tasks and organizational system” was to reform the old management system formed in the Socialist planning economic structure, which was the primary prerequisite and organizational guarantee for the RCSC to fulfill its obligations according to the law, and was also a key step in the implementation; (2) the working range the RCSC covered kept expanding and had been far beyond the sphere of medical health and usual social welfare service; (3) the RCSC and its divisions at all levels “aimed at assisting the government in the activities concerning its business with the support, subsidy and supervision of the central and local governments at all levels”; (4) the RCSC adhered to the integration of its seven Fundamental Principles (Humanity, Impartiality, Independence, Neutrality, Voluntary service, Unity, and Universality) with the leadership of the Party. Actually “to abide by the Constitution and the laws” in the 4th provision of the “The Red Cross Law” was itself a demonstration of the leadership of the Party.

So the “The Red Cross Law” integrated the international laws and practices as well as the basic principles and developing trend of the international Red Cross Movements with the reality of China. With the government transforming its function from “governing” to “supporting, subsidizing and supervising”, the RCSC shifted its role from an assistant of the government departments to an assistant in the humanitarian affairs of the government. And an essential change happened to the relationship between the RCSC and the Ministry of Health, and the Minister of the latter didn’t concurrently hold the post of the president of the former any longer. In addition, following the international practice, the State President began to take the post of Honorary President ever since the 6th National People’s Congress, showing the State’s great care and support to the Red Cross cause and thus propelling the development of the China’s Red Cross movement.

“The local Red Cross branches above the county level (county included)”

were founded “based on administrative divisions” and they had to be “equipped with sound councils and working bodies as well as full-time personnel”. “Enterprises with a national scale could set up Red Cross businesses” so as to broaden the organization scope and service range. It is indicated that the RCSC made an all-round transformation to its function and management system and strengthened its Red Cross cause of Chinese characteristics by developing its organizations in accordance with administrative division and industrial system.

Taking all above into account, the management system of the RCSC includes the following clauses: (1) the Red Cross organizations are neither subordinate to a certain government department nor an internal organ of it, so it should have its own “agencies”, “personnel”, financial account and offices; (2) the internal affairs of great importance, like the appointment and dismissal of personnel, should be discussed by the Red Cross Council or Standing Council or executive agencies, and then be submitted to the Party committee or the government to be examined and approved; (3) “externally, the County Red Cross branches and above should be transformed from being directly governed by the local medical and health departments to being connected by the government leaders at each level, thereby to make them humanitarian social relief organizations featuring real autonomy, vitality, tight link with the mass and in conformity to their own reality and make them a better assistant to the government in the humanitarian field;” (4) the government should coordinate, support, subsidize, guarantee and supervise the RCSC services, but a government subsidy specially for the RCSC should be established and appropriated directly by the financial departments and an independent Red Cross financial system should be established; (5) the establishment of organizations and personnel should be in the direct charge of the local organizational departments and personnel departments just like the management of government office workers; (6) regarding to its status and relations with the other non-governmental organizations, the RCSC is on an equal footing with the Labor Union, the Youth Federation, the Women’s

Federation, and the Association of Science and Technology, etc., and it should simplify its operating ranks so as to increase its efficiency and strengthen its self-improvement.

However, the “The Red Cross Law” is a law of association without a specific enforcement body in the legal system of China, which means whether it is abided by is completely determined by the involved departments themselves. So a problem peculiar to China is how to guarantee the implementation of the “The Red Cross Law” in the government departments at all levels. Some council members of the RCSC interviewed, who are CPPCC (Chinese People’s Political Consultative Committee) members or NPC (National People’s Congress) members in the meantime, encountered problems in their law enforcement investigations and inspections:

Some government departments have little intention to support and provide financial aid to the RCSC, and therefore they never carry out the related policies, and some departments never take these policies seriously as a legal obligation. As a result, many provisions cannot be put into effect. For example, even though the RCSC and the involved ministries and commissions have jointly issued a document, declaring the elementary first-aid training to be the obligation of the RCSC, but since no specific profession has been prescribed to receive this training, it is cancelled as unreasonable training and charge, thus making it a great challenge for the RCSC to take. Another example is that the “The Red Cross Law” prescribed “the RCSC should award the organizations and individuals at each level who have participated in or made great contributions in the blood donations”. However, the government at each level only allotted to the RCSC very limited funds for their publicity, motivation and commendation. Moreover, restrictions from all sides are imposed on the RCSC in its team organization for the international humanitarian relief. And the emblem and name of Red Cross are abused repeatedly due to the weakness of

the government's regulation.

The key reasons consist in the lack of the fulfillment of the supporting measures and a strong enforcement. And the "The Red Cross Law" just provides favorable institutional settings for the Red Cross development, but cannot ensure its independence and autonomy. And when endowed with necessary rules and resources, the one concerned should win its reinvention through its own actions. So the chief leaders, the members of the Council and the Executive Committee of the RCSC began their active searches for an effective organizational mode of Chinese characteristics in rationalizing their grass-roots branches.

4.2 The Approaches of "Straightening out Management System"

China's reform has often been characterized as "government-led". In such an institutional setting, the State, especially the central government, holds a full control of almost all important social resources and opportunities and the power of distribution in the whole society, which leads to a social organizational structure around the power redistribution of the State, thus forming the fundamental system of hierarchy (strata) based on the logic of political power. Ivan Szelenyi called this a "determined" relational structure, which means that the relative positions of all strata and relations among them are "determined" by the State power, that is, the structure of power relations are formed by "mandatory orders". Such a "government dominated" institutional setting presented a prerequisite for the development of the non-profit organizations, but also led to some severe restrictions which caused a universal immaturity among China's non-profit organizations. Therefore, the identification of this "determined" relational structure was the RCSC's most urgent mission in the rationalization of its system.

Approach one: it makes full use of the social elites to win support of the

leaders

According to the international practice and Article Ten of the “The Red Cross Law” and depending on its special position in implementing “the Geneva Convention”, the RCSC invited the State Presidents, like Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao successively, to be its Honorary President, which was a privilege not possessed by any other non-governmental organizations and which definitely promoted the Red Cross movement. In the meantime, it tried to win the support of the chief leaders of the Party and the government so as to optimize the environment for its development. In recent years, the Party and the government began to attach great importance to the RCSC with its unique advantages and functions. President Hu Jintao made several special instructions and comments on the performances of the RCSC; Wen Jiabao and some other leaders also gave their instructions to help the RCSC out of the problems met in its practical work; the vice-premier, Hui Liangyu, made a special inspection on RCSC’s work and gave an important speech.

Especially after the publication of “Suggestions on further strengthening the work of RCSC” (GOSC, [2004] No.85) transmitted by the General Office of the State Council in 2004, governments and general offices at different levels also began to issue similar documents, and supportive policies were also formulated by the related Party and government departments. Departments and organs like the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, the Offices of Legislative Affairs, the Organization Committee Offices, the Civil Aviation Administrations, the Customs, the army, and the police provided services in their fields to facilitate the work of the RCSC, and departments at all levels provided their powerful support for the Red Cross cause by issuing documents and making special arrangement for conducting first-aid training in such industries as transportation, railway, education, tourism, construction, mine, and electrical power. The RCSC received not only “supportive policies”

but also concrete resources, for instance, the central and local financial departments allocated related funds to the RCSC from the lottery public welfare funds. Since 1999, the personnel in the County Red Cross branches and above were “managed according to the rules and regulations related with the management of government office workers”, and their salaries were paid by the financial departments at their equal levels, which greatly promoted the stability, quality, and performance of the Red Cross team of cadre.

Approach two: it strengthened the liaisons with the government through leadership “connection” system

The RCSC pointed out in 1996 that its branches above the county levels should be set up separately as independent corporate bodies which could not exist without the support of the health departments.

In the December of 1999, with the approval of the Central Institutional Organization Commission, the National Society of the RCSC was transformed from “being governed by the Ministry of Health” into “being connected by the leaders of the State Council”, which led to the successful rationalization of the National Society’s management system. The management systems of the local Red Cross branches were also rationalized successively according to corresponding laws.

The 2004 “Statute” further pointed out that “the presidents of the Provincial (Autonomous Regional/Municipality), Prefecture and County Red Cross branches should usually be elected from the leaders in the corresponding ranks” and “the post of the Honorary Presidents of the Provincial (Autonomous Regional/Municipality), Prefecture and County Red Cross branches should be assumed by the leaders in the corresponding ranks”, by which the RCSC could make use of the social resources the presidents and Honorary President held to develop their businesses and extend their social influence. It was the first time in China to put it in the written Statute that the offices of the presidents and

honorary chairmen of the Red Cross organizations should be concurrently held by the leaders in the corresponding ranks, but this not only made the relationship between the RCSC and the government more clarified, but also strengthened the government' management of the RCSC on the basis of "support, subsidization, and supervision". So until now, the functions the government has fulfilled in the RCSC range from "leading", through "supporting, subsidizing, and supervising", and then "managing" as presidents, to establishing separate systems for the RCSC National Society and its local divisions.

After the establishment of "connection" system, the Red Cross staff should report their performances to the leaders more actively and frequently, making them clear what they are engaged in, what progress they have made, and what problem they have met, etc., which was emphasized by a Red Cross director when he was interviewed:

*It is necessary to report our performances to the chief leaders of the Party committee and the government frequently, and spare no opportunity to report to them the Red Cross' commendable policies, especially in the medical health aspect, as well as difficulties and problems it faces in the these services. What's more, it is also necessary to demand more medical care training agencies and personnel quotas from the Party committee, the government and the personnel departments at all levels, striving for an independent operation equipped with sufficient organizations, personnel, funds, offices and facilities.*⁴³

Approach three: it assisted the Party and the government with specialized services

The RCSC developed special programs focusing on humanitarian relief in the aspects of emergency relief, medical care, transplantation of bone marrow, and non-remunerated blood donation. And in its specialized field, it actively

⁴³ Interview data with Hubei branch of The RCSC, 003, 2008.

undertook communication and cooperation with the relevant industries and departments, especially those closely related with the public health and safety, like the health departments. In this way, it publicized the Red Cross goals and nature, built a platform for them to extend their love, or tried to convince them of enlisting the Red Cross medical care into the professional credentials training on the basis of entrustment or service purchase so as to broaden its medical service scope. The management systems in each relevant industry gradually achieved rationalization in the process of practice.

And every year, the RCSC came up with a theme, which served as a reflection of the central task of the Party and the government, and then actively carried it out in the rural areas, schools, hospitals, government organs, enterprises and newly-founded social organizations, thereby to promote its performances in emergency relief, volunteer service, teenager and community services, rural service and grass-roots organizational building. For example, to be concerted with the government, the RCSC in Henang province provided “a new system of rural cooperative medical and health care services” and established first-aid stations and Red Cross branches in the countryside.

The RCSC improved its management and service through establishing teams of volunteer and bases of volunteering service in ten fields like emergency relief, health care, humanitarian salvage and unpaid blood donation, etc. And these have been put into the national system of volunteering services and the formation of a permanent Red Cross mechanism of volunteering services is under way.

The RCSC widely mobilized the public power, actively participated in the pilot work of the new system of rural cooperative medical and health care services, and projected medical programs like “Red Cross Angel Project”, “Poverty Alleviation and Heart Rescue”, “Loving Care Project”, “Relief Funds for Severe Juvenile Diseases” and the comprehensive prevention and treatment of

the “leprosy” endemic in Guizhou province, aiming at improving the medical and health conditions in the impoverished and rural areas as well as rescuing the patients suffering from leukemia and congenital heart disease, etc. In these programs, the RCSC succeeded in treating patients of such severe diseases as leukemia, congenital heart disease and cerebral palsy, establishing more than 300 philanthropy health clinics in the rural areas, and training over 1000 country doctors. And in the process of these practices the RCSC’ managed to gradually rationalize the management system of its grass-roots organs in the rural areas.

Approach four: it sought influence through vigorous publicity

The meticulously organized “5.8 Philanthropy Week” and “Public-interest Ads Month” were exclusively dedicated to the publicity of the central ideas and key tasks of the RCSC. And in order to spread the Red Cross spirit, the Red Cross branches at all levels, through concerted efforts and harmonious teamwork, took the chances of the “5.8 Philanthropy Week”, the tsunami rescue in the Indian Ocean, and the earthquake relief in Wenchuan to establish a preliminary structure of publicity featuring a framework consisting of special activities, cooperation with the media, and public-interest ads. It also initiated “5.5 Legal Education” and made full use of the China Red Cross newspaper, the Philanthropy magazines, and the Red Cross websites to popularize the Red Cross services among the public. As a result, the social influence of the Red Cross services keeps growing, which contributes a favorable environment of public opinions to the rationalization of its system.

Approach five: it put the crucial role of “key persons” into full play through high-level coordination, working investigation, symposium, inspection and supervision, etc.

As the 8th President of the RCSC and the Vice President of the Standing

Committee of the NPC at the same time, Peng Peiyun, in her working investigation, inspected over a score of provinces (municipalities) and autonomous regions in succession and never stopped emphasizing the rationalization of RCSC' management system wherever she went. She even discussed it in person with 15 chief Party and government officials at provincial (regional, municipal) levels one by one during the third Session of the 9th National People's Congress in the hope of winning their understanding and support, considering the necessity of the support from the local governments in the Red Cross development.

The grass-roots branches of the RCSC had already been integrated into the government departments based on the previous prescription and were still affiliated to (guakao) the Bureaus of Health at each level, with their personnel, personnel quotas (bianzhi), funds and offices provided by the local government. So, it was hard to accept, even among the working staff, to transform them again from government organs into non-governmental organizations, although the "The Red Cross Law" had been passed and even the Party and the government had issued some favorable policies. And what was found in the author's interview made the situation even more complex, that is, most of the personnel in the County Red Cross branches held several posts concurrently. Moreover, the counties in China amounted up to over 2,800, each with their own particular distinction, and the local governments generally delayed the implementation of the orders from the central government to rationalize the management system of the Red Cross branches, which involved several government departments. Therefore, the Red Cross reform had to be carefully handled based on the specific reality of each region. Peng Peiyun even wrote letters to the Secretary of the Party Committee and the Governor of each province, in which she patiently explained the importance and necessity of the rationalization of the management system of the RCSC (The Red Cross newspaper of the RCSC, 2008, 12, 23.).

In 2005, only one third of the prefecture-level cities of Henan province rationalized the system of their Red Cross organizations, and even less in the counties. So Peng Peiyun arrived at Henan at 9 p.m. of May 16, 2005, to make a special survey on the problems in the rationalization there. After exchanging opinions with Xu Guangchun, the Secretary of Henan Party Committee then, she continued her trip to Zhengzhou, Zhumadian, and Jiaozuo without any rest, trying to figure out the difficulties of the rationalization there and their appropriate solutions. With the efforts from all sides, as many as 40.5% of the County Red Cross branches in Henan province rationalized their systems, above the average level of the whole nation.

In the first half of the year 2007, there remained some regions and cities not rationalizing the management system of their Red Cross branches yet and merely 9.75% of the County branches did that, which undermined the enthusiasm and initiative of the Red Cross organizations in their independent operations. So in July Peng Peiyun wrote to Zhang Chunxian, the Secretary of Hunan Party Committee, and Zhou Qiang, the Governor of Hunan province, expressing her expectation that the Hunan Party Committee and Hunan local government could strengthen their leadership and support in the Red Cross work so as to quicken the system rationalization there. Then Zhang Chunxian immediately instructed the local Party Committee and the government to help the Red Cross branches solve the practical problems in their rationalization and promote their development, which, Zhou Qiang demanded, the local governments at all levels should carry out conscientiously. Very soon, all the Regional and Prefecture Red Cross branches finished their rationalizations and the County Red Cross branches also speed up their rationalizing.

In mid-June of 2009, Peng Peiyun, who was making an investigation in Fujian province, heard that the rationalization of the Red Cross branches in Ningde City had been prescribed as early as in 2006 but the Executive Vice-president

and the full-time cadres had not been appointed until then, so she decided to make an investigation in Ningde, where she held a meeting with the involved departments, justifying the rationalization of the management system of the Red Cross branches and pointing out the unique role and advantages of the RCSC in the improvement of the people's livelihood and the construction of harmonious society. Chen Rongkai, the Secretary of the Ningde Party Committee, promised immediately that the Executive Vice-president of all the County (Prefecture, Regional) Red Cross branches would be appointed before the end of the September of that year and every County branch would be allotted with not less than 2 personnel quotas (bianzhi).

The effectiveness of the law is realized in its enforcement. And even with the necessary supporting measures available, the system rationalization of the RCSCs had to be done actively and prudently in line with the local conditions and in the classified instruction mode. "As long as we make enough unremitting efforts and enough communications, the Party and the government as well as the related departments will show support at last." So policies are not the end, but some norms, and the realization of goals requires strong senses of duty and of responsibility as well as persistent actions of "communication, coordination and feedback". And the executive power is determined by two factors—personal ability and working attitude, with the former as the basis and the latter the key in the creative work.

Approach six: it grasped the right chance to impel its system rationalization

In 2008, the first relief supplies of the RCSC arrived at the harder stricken areas only a few hours after the "5.12" earthquake in Wenchuan, which reflected its advantage and characteristics of rapidity. However, the relief work of the RCSC was soon blocked when the supplies organized by the RCSCs in all regions kept flowing into the earthquake-stricken areas, because many stricken regions had

not rationalized the system of their RCSC branches — some with no personnel at all but only a board inscribed with “RCSC” and some with very few staff, each holding several posts, and even though some regions had their systems rationalized and possessed a few full-time personnel, their power was still far from enough. Consequently, the relief supplies were piled up on the one hand, the victims were badly in need on the other.

In early June, Peng Peiyun arrived at the severely stricken areas in Sichuan and Shanxi and pointed out after listening to the working report about the earthquake relief: “the performance of the RCSC cannot be guaranteed in the relief, rescue and post-disaster rebuilding work without a rationalized management system and enough personnel”. She demanded that the local Party and government leaders as well as the local Red Cross branches to take this chance to rationalize the management system of the Prefecture and County Red Cross branches in the earthquake-stricken regions and equip them with a few but capable cadres as well as working facilities, so as to realize their real function. And the National Society sent six workgroups to the severely stricken areas to provide relief and aid services on the one hand and to impel the system rationalization of the local RCSCs on the other. Until the end of 2008, in Sichuan province, above 90% of the County Red Cross branches in such severely stricken areas as Chengdu City, Guangyuan City, Ya’an City, Mianyang City, Deyang City and Aba City, etc. rationalized their management systems, so did those in the severely stricken Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of Gannan and Tianshui City in Gansu province as well as those in the eight stricken counties in Shanxi province.

Until the end of the September of 2008, 294 among the 333 prefecture-level RCSC rationalized their management system with a high rate up to 88.28%; among 2800 County Red Cross branches, 1006 did that, with a rate of 36%.

The rationalization of the RCSC management system, as a key step in the

implementation of the “The Red Cross Law”, not only reflected the will of the State, but also standardized the behavior of the government and played a crucial role in the realization of the independence and autonomy of the RCSC. The approaches which the RCSC used to rationalize the management system of its local divisions were analyzed from the six aspects above. “Institutions came out of people’s thinking.” Similarly, the key of “the rationalization of the management system” lies in people’s enthusiasm and initiative. It is proved that if a RCSC branch rationalizes its management system, it will receive stronger “support, subsidization, guarantee, and supervision” from the government and be more competitive in its independent and autonomous operation. Peng Peiyun gave an objective comment on the RCSC change brought about by the rationalization of the management system: “the staffs, with unprecedented enthusiasm, have made great achievement in every aspect of RCSC work. The team of full-time and part-time RCSC cadres keeps growing, and the organizational construction of the grass-roots branches has been strengthened, and also the sizes of the membership and volunteer group are expanding. A system of RCSC volunteering services has been initially established. All the achievements above have laid organizational and mass foundations for the development of the Red Cross cause.”

5. Conclusion

The central goal of RCSC’ system rationalization exercise is to seek independence. And the practice of the RCSC conformed to the universal developing course of an organization: an organization initially with its own specific structure and goals will be forced to adapt itself to the existing institutional settings and gradually get assimilated by the surrounding organizations, and then more management entities will come out with its development, and finally it will claim for the right of final decision. So this organization might weaken or even change its initial objectives, and turns its

organizational structure into increasingly bureaucratic, thus losing its original meaning of existence.

In its first thirty years' development from 1949 to 1978, the management system of the RCSC was gradually integrated into the bureaucratic administrative structure, which was reinvented after the Reform and Opening up in 1978 thanks to the liberal powers within the ruling system rather than any external factors. In this sense, the future development of the RCSC might have to depend on such liberal powers within the current administrative system. The existing policy framework is a supervisory system of control type, yet it also has a certain degree of openness. So the non-governmental organizations actually are provided with the legal possibility to establish their own institutions and to strengthen their autonomy.

It also shows that somewhat paradoxically, the humanitarian problems could be solved in an administrative, rather than humanitarian way. Humanitarianism is a lofty ideal which, however, has to be developed and realized in the real world — through the intermediary function of the constant relationship and adjustment between the humanistic ideal and its society. In this process, the humanistic ideal continuously breaks its social and historical restrictions that it inevitably encounters in its development, yet of course, within a certain limitation. Naturally, different people have different expectations of humanitarian organizations, and these expectations reflect the fierce social changes and the demands of the times.

Additionally, as an “assistant” of the government in the humanitarian field, the RCSC has no final say in its own operation for it is controlled by the departments in charge (Deng Guosheng, 2007:35). But the RCSC never give up its efforts for independence and autonomy—it tried to obtain resources of any kind from any possible channels when trapped in the “institutional” and “resources” restrictions. And it made appeals to the government and made full

use of the authority of the State and the policies of the government to achieve its own goals— in the process of which it actually obtains some real autonomy. Therefore, the degree of autonomy an organization enjoys is at least partly determined by its ability to overcome the restrictions it encountered in its operation and development.

In short, an extraordinary process of the RCSC's evolution can be clearly identified, beginning with the organizational transformation immediately after the founding of the People's Republic of China, through the ups and downs during and after the "Cultural Revolution", the revival and development after the Reform and Opening up, to the rationalization of its management system based on the "The Red Cross Law" and the Chinese characteristics in the Socialist market economy framework. The course of its development reflects the interactive relationship between the growth of China's non-governmental organizations and the wider social changes which provided opportunities for the non-governmental organizations. It directly develops in the Chinese context, that is, to abide by the Constitution and the laws of China, adhere to the leadership of the Party, to be based on China's basic conditions, to stick to the people-first principle, and to hold a global perspective. And it is in this way that the RCSC succeeds in integrating the basic principles of the International Red Cross Movement into the distinct characteristics of the current age, of China, and of its own practice.

Chapter 6: The RCSC and The CPC

1. Introduction

A close examination of the organizational structure of the RCSC, we can find that the RCSC possesses a unique feature which distinguishes it from any other Red Cross societies in other countries or areas: the existence of the Communist Party of China (henceforth CPC) at various levels of its management system. The *Law of the Red Cross Society of China* states that “to straighten out the management system of the provincial Red Cross societies, We must follow Article 46 in chapter 9 of the *Constitution of the Communist Party of China*, and applied to the organization departments of provincial Party committees for the permission of establishing CPC Branches within the Red Cross societies. At the same time, every RCSC, provincial level and city level, should set up a Party committee, general branch committee and sub-branch committee. RCSC organization at county level should also establish the branch committee of CPC and party group as well. The purpose is to improve and strengthen the leadership of the Party to the RCSC” (come from Law of the RCSC, 1993). Moreover, many people who are in charge of the Red Cross societies in China also hold a concurrent post as the Secretary of the Party Committee or Secretary of CPC Branch. For example, inside the Red Cross Society of China branch in Hubei, there is a special department: the CPC branch. The vice president of the Red Cross is also the General Secretary of the CPC. The Red Cross societies below provincial level also set up the CPC branch organizations to involve in the management on behalf of the Chinese government.

The explanation given by some Chinese scholars is that "these non-governmental organizations (henceforth NGOs) are mostly transformed from government departments. Therefore, they are impressed with the

organizational characteristics of government bureaucracy and their organizational management as well as operation mode bearing great similarity with that of the government"(Xu Xianglin, 2005, (3)). Scholars like Sommer (Lissner, 1977; Sommer, 1979; Bolling, 1982; Gorman, 1984; Smith, 1990) emphasizes the “apolitical characteristic” of NGO based on the basic human needs. Theoretically speaking, social organizations, as a form of social institution, must develop and grow up in a certain institutional environment and will eventually reflect the requirements of the institutional environment. On the one hand, the institutional environment plays a decisive role in its development, with the agreeable environment promoting its healthy development while the adverse environment hindering its development. On the other hand, a social organization must adapt to the change of institutional environment and reflects the requirement of the environment both through its structure and its operation mode.

The question is why CPC branch exists in the RCSC, an NGO? What's the relationship between the RCSC and the CPC? Is there any conflict between the existence of the CPC branch in RCSC and the Red Cross societies' principle of "being neutral"? The next part briefly explains an analysis from three dimensions, namely, organizational structure, function and relationship.

2. Political Party Organizations and NGOs

The relationship between political parties and NGOs are complex. Some political parties were developed from the NGOs. For instance, the Green Party in Germany, which was formerly a NGO dealing with environmental issues and later developed into a political party. A further study on the relationship between political parties and NGOs in western developed countries reveals the following three characteristics.

First, the connection of political parties with NGOs is one of the methods to

strengthen the relationship between political parties and voters. Political parties and NGOs are reciprocal partners. They promote each other development by making use of each other strengths. In history, NGOs appeared earlier than political parties. Many parties developed from the earlier NGOs, and once these NGOs developed into political parties, they began to further promote the development of NGOs. The most notable example is joint work of left-wing parties and NGOs to fight for universal suffrage, which facilitated campaign of the middle and lower class people to fight for and protect their divine rights. Political parties and NGOs generally show mutual sympathy and support or even have connections in their organizational structures. Sometimes they maintain the relationship of "leading or being led". The sufficient development of NGOs provided a source of strength for the political parties to reach for and mobilize its social members, so as to provide support for the party's decisions. On the other hand, NGOs express their appeals through their interaction with these political parties. In the United States, for example, NGOs such as National Rifle Association (NRA), the Farmers Union Association (FUA), Lawyers Association, and Environmental Groups etc. often transform into interest groups. These groups may realize their interests by providing support and funds to the government, or by protests.

Secondly, the status of political parties and NGOs is not static. They may switch positions and borrow ideas from each other. Moreover, some parties may decline or lose their political influences, and eventually become NGOs, even though they still retain their names or titles; some NGOs, on the contrary, gradually develop and gain higher political status and greater influence and eventually become political parties to engage in the policy-making process of the government. For example, the Green Party of Germany and the Green Party in Sweden, both of which originated from NGOs, are of this kind. Meanwhile the ideals and policies of some other NGOs are more radical than that of the parties. Then, these new ideas and policies, which are first put forth by the

NGOs, are adopted by certain parties and become their own policy. Thus, NGOs become the source of innovation for these parties. For example, the British Labor party's policy of woman's rights comes from the feminist thoughts of a NGO, which fought for the suffrage of women. The social welfare ideas of German political parties come from a social policy forum. The notion of social security of America Democratic Party comes from a NGO which advocates the establishment of pension system. The ideas of environmental protection of many political parties come from green peace movement. Another example is the emergence of "project parties". In recent years, with the drastic declining of people's enthusiasm in politics, the members of many parties are not willing to be constrained by the traditional party organizations. As a result, some parties in Western Europe begin to set up "project parties". These new kind of "parties" serve a single goal and has a loose organization. People who participate in the project are the party members. After the completion of the project, the members are dismissed.

Thirdly, the rights of and relationship between political parties and NGOs are constrained by different constitutions and regulations, which varies in accordance with the time and development of different countries. The NGOs can either influence the policies of the party and the government so as to avoid the possibility of big crisis through dialogue and coordinative mechanism, or establish a political union with a certain party so as to support their desired policies. Actually, many parties and some NGOs, who share common pursuit and views, form a relationship of "leading and being led". For example, the British Labor Party and the Trades Union, the German Social Democratic Party and the German metal trade unions as well as the Swedish Social Democratic Party and the Swedish Trade Union League. These parties and NGOs coexisted for a long time in a relationship of "leading and being led". Several political foundations in Germany are legally independent and have not affiliation with any political party, but they are ideologically inclined to support a political

party openly, and a significant portion of their activity fund come from the government, who allocate money to the NGOs in accordance with the election votes and seats in Parliament. As cultural traditions, social environment, cultural environment and political system are various in different countries, the relationship between the political parties and NGOs in different countries also display some varieties.

To sum up, the relationship between political parties as well as the mechanism and approach in handling their relationship are constrained by the different political institutions, system of government and laws. In western countries, the relationship between the political parties and NGOs can vary with the change of social development phase and level, and the change of the status of political parties.

3. The Uniqueness of the Relationship between CPC and NGO

The relationship between CPC and the NGOs is totally different from that of western countries. It can be divided into three stages. They are: the co-existence relationship, dependency relationship and reestablishment of trust relationship. Before 1949, the CPC utilized and allied with the RCSC, and managed to control its branches given chances and conditions; Preliminary Administrative Stage of the CPC (1949-1978). During this period, CPC reorganized, transformed and administrated the RCSC; the cultivating, developing and supervision period since the implementation of reform and opening-up policy (from 1978 to the present).

3.1 The Co-existence Relationship before 1949

Before the CPC came into power, the CPC worked as underground party and a revolutionary party. Under this circumstance, the CPC could hardly survive

without armed forces, nor could it develop without social support. The historical task of national unity and national independence tied CPC and the NGOs together closely. This is where CPC and the NGOs began to get connected. Due to the pressure of war and the Kuomintang's reign of white terror, as well as its weakness in political influence, CPC actively supported the development of NGOs. The policy of CPC was to ally with NGOs, while trying to control them given chances and conditions. They cooperated and coexisted with each other mainly of course.

The CPC controlled a few organizations through two ways: establishing CPC branch organizations and setting up new branches of CPC in mass organizations. CPC branches conducted these NGOs to accept the task the party has assigned. That is, through members of CPC inside these NGOs as well as the propaganda and the supervisory work of the CPC branch, the CPC could conduct these NGOs to work in accordance with the policies and relevant regulations of the CPC. In this way, these NGOs could adhere to the correct political orientation.

Before the CPC became into power, it had set up many secret branches inside many Red Cross branch societies. These secret branches of CPC were led by Chang Jiang Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC. For instance, after the outbreak of Anti-Japanese War, the second repair plant of RCSC in Liuzhou City, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region moved to Kunming, capital of Yunnan province. Zhang Hongdao, the famous businessmen and director was a secret CPC member, who later became the secretary of the RCSC branch. After the foundation of new People's Republic of China, Zhang Hongdao, the former secretary of the RCSC, became the vice Foreign Minister and Chinese ambassador in the United States⁴⁴.

The CPC constitution requires that the party organization should be built in any place wherever there are CPC members. What's more, if necessary, the party

⁴⁴See Lv Rongbin: the whole story of Li Shaoshi die in an accident. <http://www.xinhua023.com/>

could also establish the CPC branch and carry out activities in NGOs with the permissible condition. For example, Xiong Guohua, who was born in a poor peasant family in Huangpi county of Hubei province, worked in the second repair plant of Red Cross Society of China as an apprentice. With the help of Zhang Hongdao, the director of this factory, Xiong made a great progress. He not only learned to drive cars, repair the vehicles, but also improved the ideological awareness constantly during this process. In 1940, he took part in the Revolutionary Youth Association led by CPC. In 1942, he joined the CPC and stepped on the way of revolution.⁴⁵

Judging from these examples, we can see that during the early period, the policy of the CPC toward RCSC was to unite, utilize and control, with the main purpose of taking advantage of the RCSC to create the most favorable social environment for the CPC.

3.2 Dependency Relationship: 1949-1978

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, NGOs were faced with a new environment. The original alliance with and support from the CPC had disappeared. The CPC could achieve its political objectives by the state power. NGOs have lost their original alliance position in the eye of CPC. In the process of realizing the political objectives of the CPC, the status of these NGOs were declining. On the one hand, the CPC took the whole government system into their own party system, integrating the system of the party and that the government through the strong political advantage and highly centralized leadership system. On the other hand, the CPC had controlled the whole society and each individual person by way of branches spread through all level of the whole society. At the same time, the specific conditions in China endowed the NGOs in China with the following characteristics: weak in power, unsystematic

⁴⁵See Lv Rongbin: Zhou Enlai in the Guomintang Occupied Areas. The Party School of Central Committee Press.1998..

in organization, lack of funding and legislative support, and short of outstanding staff. Meanwhile, because the NGOs didn't win the recognition of the CPC, the government and the public and had no agreeable social-cultural environment to develop, and the quality of NGOs themselves remained to be further improved, its development in China was greatly undermined. As a result, with the change of the CPC's political status and the consequent change of its political goals, the original relationship of coexistence was broken. NGOs gradually evolved into subordinate branch of the CPC. The CPC then began to reorganize and transform, control and even shut down these NGOs.

According to Zhu Zihui's(2006:895) memoir, the RCSC launched a conference about restructuring of RCSC on August 20th, 1950, with the resolution that the restructuring would be carried on the following four basic principles:

(1) The former China Red Cross society has converted into current situation under the principle of restructuring. (2) The headquarters was moved to Beijing and all the staffs stayed except those who did not want to continue working in the Red Cross. (3) The RCSC was reorganized in accordance with the organization principles of international Red Cross, with reference to the mode of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference . The representatives were from three parties: the members from the headquarters of RCSC, the representatives from the government and the representatives from other social organizations. This way of distributing representatives can represent the universality of representatives and democracy of consultation .(4) In order to respect the historical tradition of the Red Cross, the new constitution passed by the committee clearly stipulated that "This committee is named the Red Cross Society of China". Therefore, after reorganization, the RCSC had achieved legal status, and was accepted by international Red Cross as a formal member, becoming the first international organization.

The relationships between the two sides were directly influenced by the views

of the CPC on NGO and the corresponding policy towards it. At the initial founding stage of the RCSC, the main problem it faced was how to carry out relevant activities and develop its branches based on the connotation of humanitarian work. One view was that since the connotation of humanitarian aid is extensive, the RCSC, as a mass and universal organization, should undertake the health work of the public, besides the relief and social welfare work. People holding this idea advocated that the basic-level organizations of RCSC should be fully developed to be the basic units for national healthy movement. On the other hand that under the socialist system, since people can rely on the government "from cradle to grave", the RCSC had not much work to do, and have not enough human resources to accomplish its work. Therefore, only a few Red Cross organizations had been set up in several big cities to cater for the needs of international humanitarian operations. There was no need to develop the Red Cross societies at a large scale. As for this argument, Zhou Enlai, Prime Minister at that time, instructed that "(the RCSC should be) developed moderately."

The RCSC thought that within the socialist system, the relief work would gradually disappear with the development of country's economy, but the Red Cross societies will certainly remain, because its principle was "humanitarian and hygiene", and "it will have some work to do even in the communist society. Its future is broad and bright". Influenced by this way of thinking, chief committee and other branches of RCSC began to perk up. With the emergence of Chinese People Relief Committee, the work of the RCSC was expanded.

Whether "hygiene" and "humanitarian" are closely related isn't the focus of our discussion. The fact that the RCSC put these two notions together is a strategy for it to survive in that social environment. However, when the planned social systems was increasingly strengthened, NGOs were not allowed to exist in this kind of social environment, and since "hygiene service" was led by the health

department in the government, the Red Cross societies' service in helping carry out the work of "patriotic health campaign", emergency aid training, and mobilizing blood donation, etc. Successfully transform itself into the assistant of health departments. In fact, by 1958, the Red Cross societies and its staffs were all merged into the patriotic health campaign office of health department, becoming an affiliate department of the government. The RCSC lost its independence and autonomy completely, but maintained its survival. The relationship between the CPC and the RCSC at that time was the one of "leading and being led".

Judging from the policy, we can see that the transformation work of the NGOs has already been launched since the foundation of new China. On October 19th, 1950, the *Provisional Regulations on Social Organization Registration* was promulgated, which stated regulations concerning the categorization of NGOs and the scope, procedures and principles of registration, as well as some other issues. The *Details of Provisional Regulations on Social Organization Registration* issued in 1951 aimed at providing legal, policy, or other principles for the dissolving of those existing communities. The process of registration is actually a process that the new regime monitors and sorts out social organizations with their own values at that time. For example, Article 4 of *Provisional Regulations* specifically stated that "Those reactionary groups which endanger the interests of the state and the people should be banned from registration. Those that have already been registered, if their members are found getting involved with reactionary activities, should be revoked and dissolved." According to the political system of multi-party cooperation under the leadership of CPC, some NGOs with obvious political inclinations are transformed to political parties, and defined as democratic parties, so that it would be differed from other social organizations. Thus, many NGOs were transformed into political parties (Thomas Silk, 2000:83-84). The result of rectifications was that the NGOs were classified into two large categories: (1)

legal political organizations, classified into the eight democratic parties involved in political consultative affairs; (2) legal NGOs - mainly categorized into mass organizations, academic research organizations, social and public interest groups, literary work groups, religious groups, and other legal groups which are not mentioned in the above five categories.

The provisional regulation lasted for only 39 years and it was replaced by *Measures for Social Organization Registration* in 1989. During these 39 years, the CPC's policies, attitudes and views toward NGOs were relatively backward when compared with the rapid development of the market economy and the development of NGOs. The relationship between the CPC and the NGOs still remained the same. But it still had a profound influence on the development of NGOs. This can be seen from the following three aspects:

(1) The chairman of the RCSC was concurrently held by chief officials of the government, and the actual director (including executive vice-president and secretary) were first recommended by the department in charge, and then were put into vote in the conference. The employment and dismissal of certain Red Cross officials were carried out in accordance with the management regulations of the CPC. For instance, when the People's Republic of China was founded, the general director of the RCSC is Wu Yunfu, who was the chief official in charge of the actual work of the Red Cross. At the same time, he was also the secretary of the Chinese People's Relief Committee. The two organizations worked together and later the relief committee was merged into the Red Cross.

(2) The right of decision-making on major issues did not lie in the council or in the conference. Instead, the major decision was usually made by chief government officials, which makes the Membership Conference and the Board of Directors a mere formality. (3) Majority of the members of the Board of Directors were from the government stakeholders?. "The Board of Directors is simply an honorary organization, and its members didn't fulfill its rights and

required obligations.”⁴⁶ Because the work of the RCSC was controlled by the public health department, the feature of political administration was very apparent. In fact, the RCSC had become one of the branches of healthy department and the administrative work had become its primary service. The RCSC had lost its status as an independent organization.

There were several reasons attributing to this situation. Firstly, the CPC is the dominating force of the Chinese society. Before the reform, the CPC, on one hand, took the whole government system into its own leadership system through its dominating political position and highly centralized leadership system, thus forming the integration of political Party and government. On the other hand, the Party integrated and controlled the whole society and individuals through branches at all levels. In such a system, various resources were controlled and distributed by Party; various dissident forces were banned from establishment, thus turning the whole society into a highly ideologically space and hindering the possibility of social differentiation and the society's independence from the control of the Party. Consequently, the ruling Party gradually got away from its nature of connecting society and serving the society, and thus converting itself into a kind of bureaucratic Party. " On this background, it is impossible for the NGOs to develop independently; Instead, they are often endowed with the responsibility by the ruling Party and the government to accomplish certain tasks"⁴⁷. Secondly, the government needs the NGOs to work as an “assistant”. In the first National Congress of the RCSC, held in August, 1950, Wu Yunfu stressed in his report that:

“In current China, we need such NGOs like RCSC to heal the wound of the war and relieve people from their miseries. We extremely need to make the new RCSC work under the leadership of people's government. Therefore, it is

⁴⁶ Huang Haoming: Changes in Organizational Governing of Civil Society Organizations. By Wang Ming editor: “NGOs in China 30 years: Towards a Civil Society”. Social Sciences Academic press(China),2008,P161.

⁴⁷Thomas, Silk: Philanthropy and Law in Asia, Science Press. Beijing, China, 2000. p 85.

necessary to reorganize the RCSC and complete its structure so that it can fulfill its work and adjust to the needs of the new times".⁴⁸

In the early stages of its reorganization, the RCSC, on one hand, made efforts to straighten out the old organizational structure so as to reunite the various branches scattered everywhere, and actively cooperate with national health department by undertaking parts of the medical and health service work. On the other hand, the RCSC had set up various kinds of medical service groups or the Red Cross health stations to serve the farmers, conducting service of medical care, epidemic prevention, health promotion, improving health condition of the surrounding environment as well as maternity and child hygiene. In this way, the RCSC became a health care organization specialized in medical and health care under the specific leadership of the health departments.

From 1951 to 1961, during the eleven years of the RCSC' reorganization, the RCSC has not called for any conference, council committee meeting, or work meeting". Many local RCSC organizations co-worked with local health department. In several major cities, all it had was only a name and the work organized under the name the RCSC, its offices and staff members were dismissed. "All group members are not required to pay dues, and the dues of individual members are also reduced or exempted in accordance with the practical situation ". The RCSC actually exists in name only.

Although the close association with the health departments can strengthen the leadership, simplify the management system, facilitate the working efficiency, the Red Cross societies and the health departments didn't have a unified plan or specific work schedule. This made the Red Cross societies do the same work as the health department, such as dissemination of health information, training, rescue, vaccination and other mass public health campaign. The function of the

⁴⁸ Wu Yunpu: Report on the 1st Representative Conference of the RCSC, Beijing: Taihai press, 2006, p96—97.

Red Cross was increasingly weakened to be a health care organization, and eventually became a subordinate branch of the health department.⁴⁹

3.3 The Reestablishment of Trust between NGOs and CPC: after 1978

After the introduction of reform and opening policy, the relationship between the CPC and the NGOs experienced a process from "Separation" to "reunion". In this process of sharing power with the ruling Party, it poses three challenges to the leadership of the CPC. In response to these challenges, the government has adopted four approaches to reestablish the trust between the government and the NGOs.

At the budding stage of the reform and opening-up period, the "sharing power and giving up interests" is a voluntary action on the CPC's part. It was mainly demonstrated through the implementation of three policies. Firstly, the "separation of administrative powers from enterprises", it realized by reforming the system of economic development management. By doing this, the administrative power of the government was withdrawn from economic field. Secondly, "the separation of administrative powers from the field of social life" is conducted. The purpose is to transform the government's responsibilities and lighten its burden so as to establish the socialist economic system and the social management as a goal of "small government, big society". As a result, a large group of social organizations with industrial background came into existence, such as the "Chinese Automobile Industrial Management Association", and some administrative organizations, such as the "Chinese Social Workers Association". Thirdly, in correspondence with this situation, the "separation of CPC from the government" was conducted, as the CPC has realized the disadvantage of the Party with government as well as replacing the government with the parties. The purpose was to separate the responsibilities of the CPC

⁴⁹ Li Dequan: Report on the 2th Representative Conference of the RCSC. Beijing: Taihai press, 2006, p97—103.

from the responsibilities of the government, so that the Party's only responsibility was to manage its Party members. Of course, it didn't mean to give up or weaken the leading position of the CPC, but rather to transfer the leadership of the Party from a highly-centralized one to the construction of a more advanced social management system, that is to strengthen and improve the leadership of the Party, to ensure the Party's political leadership, organizational leadership and ideological leadership, so as to bring the Party's function of guiding the overall direction into full play. Meanwhile it was beneficial to coordinate the relationship between the Party, the government and the society.

The thirty years of opening-up and reform fully illustrates the fact that the reform is a process in which the Party gave up part of its power to the government and the society. Meanwhile, it was faced with the challenge posed by the newly-born social forces. This new form of social forces was mainly from "social organization revolution"⁵⁰

The challenge brought about by the social organization revolution directly undermined the social foundation for the rule of the CPC. The case to point was the CPC's handling of the "Fa Lun Gong" organization. Some scholars have summed up challenges of the social organization revolution as the following three points:

(1) The development of NGOs occupied part of the traditional space of the Party. Under the original planned system, the Party almost occupies all social spaces. Now a large number of social organizations grow up⁵¹.

(2) Some social services originally dominated by the Party are replaced by

⁵⁰Wang Shaoguang & He Jianyu: Association Revolution in China: the territory of Chinese Association. Zhejiang Academic Journal, 2006(6), p71-77.

⁵¹Lin Shangli: the Civil Organizations and Political Reform: Logic of China, By Wang Ming editor: "NGOs in China 30 years: Towards a Civil Society". Beijing:Social Sciences Academic press(China),2008,P270.

non-governmental organizations. The Party and government sectors leave out space spontaneously. In order to solve the employment problem of the retired cadres from the Party and government sectors, the Party and government established some social service institutions spontaneously, such as Chinese Social Workers Association, which was separated from the civil affairs department. The Red Cross is divided from health departments directly, which is one of 18 NGOS that are under the leadership of the state council. Secondly, because of the separating from the Party and government departments, the NGOS actively expand their service field, conquers the bare space left by government because of the transformation of function in order to maintain its survival and development.

(3)With the deepening of the reform, the "new society organizations" appeared, such as "Intermediary Organization" in economic life. "Community Organizations" appeared after the disintegration of unit organization, as well as all kinds of industry associations, non-profitable NGOs, rural professional economic associations, chamber of commerce and other new mass organizations. The profound changes generated various "blank spaces" beyond the Party ever. Thus it caused the intensive relationship between the Party and NGOs. The tension is unfavorable to the display of the Party's functions and the survival and development of NGOs.

The CPC soon acted to strengthen its control. On November 17th, 1984, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council co-issued *The Notification on the Strict Control of National Organizations*. It stated clearly that the social groups should be examined by each corresponding central department, and approved by the National System Reform Committee. And the first round of check and consolidation since the reform and opening was carried out. Although, this action stopped the widespread of the nationwide organizations, it could not restrict the development of local organizations.

Therefore, the CPC has to resort to the establishment of regulations. Reviewing the NGOs from the perspective of systems, the Party must face the development of NGOs from the height of achieving long-term ruling, and try to transform this challenge into governing resources. The report for the 13th National Congress of the CPC pointed out that in the social system reform process, the relationship between the Party, the government and the mass organizations must be straightened out, so that the mass organizations could conduct its own work in accordance with their own characteristics. Moreover, for the first time it proposed the notion of maintaining the independence of the NGOs.

The third action of the Communist Party of China towards social organizations was to conduct a "classified management and selective cultivation". Since the 13th National Conference of the CPC, suggestions were put forward in each report of Party's Representative Conference and Central Committee Plenary Meeting. For example, "*The decision of some issues about building the socialist market economic system*", passed on the 14th conference of the CPC, pointed out: "The economic management department of government should transform its functions and professional economic sectors should gradually decrease;" "let industry association, chamber of commerce organizations, etc play a role ". The report of 15th conference of the CPC put forward that "cultivating and developing social intermediary organizations". The report of CPC's 16th national congress put forward that great efforts should be made to establish new approach, explore new fields, accelerate the pace of establishing the Party organization in the new economic organizations and social groups. We should strengthen the construction of CPC organizations in communities, pay attention to develop new and brilliant Party members in the new social classes, increase the work of establishing Party organizations in social organizations and intermediary organizations. The report showed that the development of NGOs had attracted great attention. It is mainly shown in classified control and selective breeding.

The classified management refers to the ruling Party's different management ways towards different NGOs according to their influence and nature, quantity as well as quality of public services they provided (Kang Xiaoguang, 2005:73-89). First, for those NGOs like associations, chambers of commerce, official NGOs etc, the ruling Party took the strategy of encouraging and supporting their development. The goods and services that these organizations provided are necessary for social development. Civil Affairs Minister Li Xueju said in the 2004 National Advanced NGOs Commendation Congress that: We should stick to the principle of development and management supervising as well. The core is to serve the economic and social development and the key point is to improve the NGO's capacity. We should establish an NGO development system that is fit for the economic and social development in our country. It should have a rationally layout, an optimized structure and can work efficiently. We should set up an NGO management system with a complete legal system; standardized management, and grading responsibilities and put key efforts on developing industry associations, non-profitable NGOs, rural professional economic associations, community NGOs, support and guide the activities in science, education, culture, health, sports and the new mass organizations that appear gradually with the improvement of people's living standard.

Secondly, the CPC and the government began to limit the quantity of private non-enterprise units by narrowing the approval standards. For instance, on August 28th, 1996, the General Office of Central Committee of the CPC and the Office of the State Council jointly promulgated the document: *Notification on Strengthening the Management of Social Organizations and Private Non-enterprise Units*. Rectification was carried out again for social organizations and private non-enterprise units. On November 1st, 1999, the General Office of Central Committee of the CPC and the Office of the State Council promulgated the document: *Notification on Further Strengthening the*

Management of Non-government Organization. It requested the competent administrative unit of NGOs to be responsible for the registration of NGOs, the ideological and political work, the Party's construction, finance and personnel management, research activities, foreign relations, foreign donations acceptance, activities based on constitutions, etc. In April 2000, the Ministry of Civil Affairs issued the *Provisional Regulations of Canceling Illegal NGOs*. It strengthened the dual control system. After successive rectifications from 1996 to 2001, the quantity of organizations legally registered was in decline, at a rate of 1.6%, 8.3%, 17.5%, 4.6%, 1.5%⁵² respectively.

Thirdly, working cooperatively with some of the NGOs, the governments selectively cultivate these NGOs that were originally separated from the "Party-government integration", mainly including eight mass organizations and 25 registration-free organizations. These organizations were launched by the government and their major responsible officials of the organization were appointed by the government. These officials had certain administrative ranking, and the staffs in these organizations received their wages and welfare treatment provided by the government according to the standard of civil servants. They execute various national laws, regulations, policies and command of the Party and government, provide public services, usually they are the bridge and the link between the Party and the masses.

These organizations can be used as a new growing point after the separation of Party and administrative power, at the same time they improve the trust between the government the NGOs, and the Party will not take away the NGOs' autonomy. The Party found a growing point from the social fields, and has formed social alliances, expanded its ruling foundations; the relations between NGOs and the Party and the government are no longer fierce opposition, but

⁵²Wang Ming editor: "NGOs in China 30 years: Towards a Civil Society". Social Sciences Academic press(China),2008,P 221.

mutual cooperation.

The fourth action taken by the CPC is to penetrate into the NGOs, and set Party organizations inside the structure of NGOs" so as to facilitate its management through the strategy of "improving management by strengthening Party construction", and integrate the NGOs forces.

In the Party's administration process, the leadership over NGOs started from "facilitating management by improving Party construction." As early as 1998, the Central Committee of the Communist Party organization and the Ministry of Civil Affairs co-issued the *Notification on Establishing Party Branches in the Social Organizations*. But the actual effect was not? very satisfactory. So, in July 2000, the Central Committee of the CPC issued the document *Opinions on Strengthening the Party's Construction in Social Organizations* again. It clearly stated that social organization is important organizational strength of the CPC to integrate and govern the society. As President Hu Jintao stated in the meeting of major provincial leaders that, "The CPC must think about and study how to display the function of urban and rural autonomy organizations, as well as mass organizations, social organizations, trade organizations and intermediary organizations better, and form an integrated power of social management under the leadership of the Party."⁵³ This has given social groups high political status and strong political function. Its purpose is to make social groups to assemble around the Communist Party of China, and expand the coverage, influence and penetration force of the Communist Party.

Urged by the Central Committee of the CPC, the Party Committees at all levels began to pay special attention to the construction of NGOs, and formulated relevant policies. For example, the government of Guangdong Province clearly stated that new social organizations that are waiting to be approved must

⁵³Hu Jintao: Speech at atopic study of enhancing the capacity of building a harmonious socialist society. the People Daily. Jun 27, 2005.

establish Party Branches inside its organizations. To those that do not have the conditions, the competent department cannot give approval; registration authority cannot issue registration. For the established social organizations without Party branches, they will not be qualified for the yearly-check⁵⁴. Since then, the strategy of the Party construction is to “destroy blank point, expand coverage of Party branches.” “To facilitate management by strengthening Party construction” became an important policy. Strengthening Party’s leadership and building the Party as well as to provide support to social development. The communist Party of China achieved basic overlay to non-governmental organization of Party construction. Taking the Party construction in social organization in Shanghai for an example, at the end of June in 2004, in the 876 city level social organizations that had passed yearly checking, 97.6% of them had set up Party branches. In district level, the rate was 91.1%, which was a little lower than that of the city level. In the whole country, the rate maintained an average level of 90%. Various ways were taken to establish Party organization such as establishing Party branches “independently, jointly, provisionally, or through affiliation, rebuilding, designation, dispatch”, thus determining the special post of “NGOs Party construction work”, designating special persons to take charge. Take community leaders as “the first leader” of the Party construction work, and form a complete “integration” leadership as well as a complete system covering planning, management, and supervision. At present, the guiding principle of the CPC was to carry out Party construction in NGOs to realize the Party’s management of social organizations. It is also a leading administrative approach.

3.4 The Special Trust between the RCSC and the CPC

The RCSC is one of the earliest 18 registration-free social organizations (later

⁵⁴Huang Haoming: Changes in Organizational Governing of Civil Society Organizations. By Wang Ming editor: “NGOs in China 30 years: Towards a Civil Society”. Social sciences academic press (China), 2008, P 162.

this number extended to 25). And a problem of gaining legitimacy identity was solved. In addition to the traditional medical and health care field, the RCSC also expands its services into poverty alleviation, disasters relief, help the needy, funding education and non-governmental diplomacy, etc. It joined with the Trade Union, the Communist Youth League, the Women's Federations and Disabled Persons' Federation, the Committee on Seniors and other mass organizations. The RCSC actively engages into activities that are within or relevant to their sphere of responsibility. ⁵⁵The RCSC is the bridge and assistant of the Party and the government in humanitarian field.

Compared with other NGOs, the relationship between the RCSC and communist Party is much closer. Before the CPC came to power, the CPC intended to win the support of the RCSC. Some of the RCSC members themselves were underground Party members. At the eve of the liberation of China, the RCSC was the first NGO who contacted with the CPC actively. The RCSC had already accepted the guidance and leadership of the government, and adopted reorganization instead of being taken over by the government, and thus it was change from the Red Cross Society in old China to be the Red Cross Society of People's Republic of China. Because of its organizational characteristics and historical features of the Red Cross Society, referring to the mode of "Chinese people's political consultative conference ", the new constitution passed after the reorganization clearly stipulated that " this organization is named as the Red Cross Society of China." It also accorded with the guiding principle of the International Red Cross Society and its campaigns.

Therefore, after the reorganization, the RCSC had achieved legitimacy, and was accepted as an official member by the International Red Cross Society, and became the first community of the new China to participate in international organizations. In socialist construction period, the RCSC involved in the work

⁵⁵Wang Lizhong: Talk about the RCSC. Beijing: Taihai press, 2006, p120.

of developing people-to-people diplomacy, safeguarding world peace and humanitarian help, and combining the Red Cross movement, humanitarian and socialist together. It not only turned a new leaf in the development of Red Cross societies in China, but also reflected the humanistic spirit of the communist Party of China.

From the management and operation system of the RCSC, it can be found that the trust between the CPC and the RCSC mainly lies in the following three aspects. They are: (1) development direction, important matters, major decisions of Chinese Red Cross must obey and serve the whole strategic plan of Party and country, and perform their duties, carry out their work under the leadership of the Party and the government. The chief officials of Red Cross Societies are mainly from the government, evaluated by the CPC as well as chosen through recommendation and election. For example, the standing vice President of the Red Cross Society of Hubei Province was recommended first by CPC Branch of Hubei Province, and then submitted to the representative meeting for election, and finally appointed by the CPC Committee of Hubei Province. The standing vice President of RCSC was appointed by the Central Organization Ministry directly; he was also the Secretary of the CPC Branch. The full-time cadres are those who are suitable for the needs of the Red Cross societies and have both political and legal qualifications, professional technical knowledge and comprehensive management coordination ability. Therefore, the staff members of the Red Cross societies must not only conform to the needs of Red Cross societies, but also conform to the Party's requirements. Full-time cadres must fit both needs.

(2)The second demonstration is the establishment of CPC branches at different levels of Red Cross societies. The full-time officials of the Red Cross societies should be selected from Party members. In the scheme of determining the manning quotas, the staff members and the posts, the Red Cross societies are

required to voluntarily ask for the permission of establishing CPC branches, so as to ensure the implementation of the *Party Constitution* in the Red Cross societies. Thus, it ensures the CPC's direct institutional leadership over the Red Cross. The Party organizations in Red Cross societies should carry out the basic tasks stipulated by the constitution. They should accomplish the following work: 1) to support community and its director to carry out their work according to principles and the aim stipulated by social organization articles; 2) to strengthen education, management and supervision to Party members. To the development of the business activities and let social organizations play an important role in socialist construction by Party member's pioneer. 3) Supervising principals of social groups is to implement the Party's line, principles and policies, and to abide by the state laws and regulations. "The Party organization in social organizations must consciously accept the Party's leadership which is in the competent departments and approve it to establish or the linked units, and regularly make collective working report. Some important questions should be instructed and reported timely"(RCSC' document, 2009).

(3)To executive discipline of Party and government, standardize trade behavior. According to relevant regulations, one of the functions of Party organization in the RCSC is to "supervise the social organizations' implementation of the Party's principles and policies, and abide by the state laws and regulations." Meanwhile, the Party organizations in Red Cross societies should supervise the activities of the RCSC, the work and behavior of its cadres, the economic behavior as well as its participation in social services. It must be open to the supervision of mass media as well as the masses. The Party members in the RCSC must be subjected to another constraint, which is the identity of Party membership. The Party is an organization with strict discipline, which has great influence over its members and thus affected the organizational activities of the Red Cross societies.

Judging from the practice results we can see that the establishment of Party organizations in the RCSC has produced several advantages. First of all, it can regulate the operations and activities of the RCSC and reduce possible conflicts caused by the reduction of interests, thus further unifying and highlighting its unique nature. Secondly, it enables the RCSC with Party organizations to gain legitimacy identity easily. The identity of Party members in the RCSC makes it easier to win the trust of the government as well as win support in its development. Thirdly, the entry of Party organizations in the RCSC makes it easier to gain political resources and material support from the government, thus further promoting its development. Fourthly, the establishment of Party organizations in the RCSC helps to form the alliance between the Party and the common people, thus reinforcing the Party's image of serving the people and enhancing its governing foundation. Moreover, the alliance between the Party and the people is a long-term supervision and cooperation mechanism, the formation of which in the way of Party branch or Party committees helps to fostering a favorable institutional environment for the survival of RCSC.

This mechanism, of course, arouses two concerns: one is whether the establishment of Party organizations within the Red Cross societies will weaken its independent development, or whether it will go back to the old form of "Party and society isomorphism", "Party dictates societies"? On the other hand, whether the Red Cross societies will scramble for social resources with the Party and pose challenges to the political status of the Party in the society or even lead to the change of social system eventually. Western NGOs development experience shows that NGOs can be a political party's source of power, communication channels, mobilization tools, administrative foundation and administrative helpers; they also can become social competitors, communication and mobilization obstacles, and political dissidents. For example, social organization in the Eastern Europe countries did play an important role in the upheavals of overthrowing the ruling status of the

communist Party during the Pre-Soviet Union era. In the last two years, some NGOs also played an important role in a series of "color revolutions" that happened in the central Asian countries. How to avoid this problem? How can we promote the development of the NGOs while adhere to the leadership of the CPC, so as to establish a harmonious relationship between NGOs and NGOs is a topic worthy of further study and exploration in practice.

4. Conclusion

To sum up, the CPC is the most influential Party in China. As the ruling Party, it can transform its own will into state policy. Once the Party organization enters into the RCSC, it is bound to get dominating position, which will promote the RCSC to develop in line with the social system of China. Firstly, it can completely change the relationship between government and RCSC, and change them into two main cooperation bodies in the socialist society. Secondly, it makes the Party understand his own ruling foundations more clearly when they enter RCSC. Once society has any criticism for parties, the Party can understand it and respond to it quickly. Meanwhile, the public believe that the existing RCSC functions as the result of Party's policy, which will consolidate the Party' ruling foundation. Thirdly, as an organizational power, the Party has a close relationship with society. A lot of Party members and basic Party organizations permeate in the whole society while exist outside the government system. The Party is the core of decision-making process; the government is the main body of policy executive. The relationship between the CPC and the government means that there is a big difference between China's relation of social forces and that of the other countries (including western countries). This difference determines that we should fully consider the Party as a special kind of political power in the country life, social life and relationship between state and society. We cannot analyze current Chinese NGOs' living environment by isolating the relationship between the state and society, but rather we should

take the influence of political Parties into consideration (Lin Shangli, 2000:152—153). Fourthly, the four responses of CPC form a continuous process of action. To control, regulate, guide, cultivate and integrate the NGOs is the basic principle in the management system of the CPC. Obviously, the "complete coverage" of Party organizations is not to interfere with the development of NGOs, but to influence the NGOs' decisions, so as to make sure it does not deviate from socialist road, or endanger the social stability.

The development of the RCSC is inseparable from the specific social environment of China. From the analysis presented above we can arrive at the conclusion that the relationship between the Party and the RCSC is the one of "leading and being led". The leadership of Party over RCSC is compulsory in law and in administration. The Party should carry out activities in any place where social activities exist. This is the valuable experience gained by the CPC in its process of coming into power and maintaining its ruling position. The Party organization should be built in the place with Party members. This is the requirements of the Party Constitution. Party organizations and members implement the Party's policies by exerting their pioneer modeling role. In addition, the CPC affects autonomy of the RCSC in other aspects. For example, the decision of the council should be authorized by the Party organization. This kind of approval is usually very important. Moreover, it can maintain the trust between the government and the RCSC. Otherwise, legitimacy of it will be in crisis.

After all, the RCSC is not the Party branch and the political position of the Party was not equal to that of the NGOs either. The NGOs' goal is to serve society. But the Party's goal is to control the country. From a functional perspective, the RCSC is the bridge between the Party and the public. It is the assistant of the Party and the government in the field of humanitarian work. This means that coherence as well as complementary and difference between

the Red Cross organization and the Party coexists. Their relationship is reflected in two aspects: firstly, CPC standardize, guide and integrate the Red Cross societies through political resources in order to consolidate and develop its own class foundation and the social basis; Secondly, the Red Cross societies should construct an effective management system with the support of the Party and to supplement some social functions of the Party, thus it can support the Party's rule. But this kind of complementary is not spontaneous; it depends on the effective utilization and control of the CPC over the RCSC to create a suitable system environment for their growth. If the Party simply restricts the NGOs' growth, the relationship between the Party and NGOs would not be an effective complementary one. On the contrary, it may form a strained relationship. Likewise, it also depends on the obedient and internalization of Red Cross societies, thus making RCSC a beneficial component of socialist development. Otherwise, the NGOs will not survive if it is deprived of the institutional environment.

The RCSC is engaged in the field of social construction work. In China, it has a close relationship with the Party and has become the component of socialism development with Chinese characteristics. Since the foundation of PRC, the Party's three generation leadership groups have paid great attention and give special support to the development of the RCSC. Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao and other leaders became the honorary president of the RCSC successively. Practice proves that the RCSC has become the right-hand man of the Party and government in the area of humanitarian work, an important force to construct a harmonious socialist society, and an important channel of non-governmental diplomatic exchange in our country. This makes the distinct Chinese characteristics in China. In 2008, the Red Cross wrote in its working report that it would take "constructing a Red Cross Society with Chinese characteristic" as their direction of effort. Compared with the Red Cross movement in other countries and areas, the RCSC cannot develop without the leadership of the

Party. Hua Jianmin, the president of the RCSC, said that “following the leadership of the CPC and serving the whole is the working principle that the Red Cross societies at various levels must adhere to, which is the political responsibility and basic requirements to the Red Cross workers of all levels. Only when we do like this, the RCSC could keep pace with the times, and realize the sustainable development.”⁵⁶As a nonprofit organization, it must develop along the right political path; the "political path" is to uphold the Party's leadership. The development of RCSC with Chinese characteristic follows the correct political direction, and be consistent with China's national conditions. “We must adhere to the Party's leadership.”(RCSC document, 2010) This may be the biggest characteristic of RCSC.

When people talk about the properties and characteristics of NGOs, the most frequently mentioned is its nature of being public, "non-profitable", nongovernmental, autonomous and voluntary, but the political features of non-governmental organizations are often ignored. The development of RCSC in China proves that it does go as the scholars supposed, and the scope of activities is different, too. In different periods, it displays the different political influence in different ways. The RCSC is not only a supplement to the Party and government organizations, it also grows into a kind of organized political force.

Since the RCSC branches originate from the government departments, they generally carry deep imprint of official organizations. Its management and operation mode is the same as that of government departments. Thus its flexibility and autonomy are restrained. Within the framework of the existing social system, the development space of RCSC can't follow the exact path depicted by non-governmental organization idealists. Its current development depends more on the progress and improvement of the administrative ideal of

⁵⁶Hua Jianmin: Speech at annual meeting of the RCSC(2010).the Document of the RCSC(Hongzongzi)(2010)8.

the ruling Party.

Chapter 7: Internal Logic of Expansion of Humanitarian Sphere

1. Introduction

The development of social organizations in China started off substantially from introduction of reforming and opening-up policy, and has experienced a historical process full of twists and turns. (Wang Ming, 2008: 9). In fact, the Red Cross Society had come into existence before the founding of New China. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Red Cross societies in China have undergone an overall and thorough reorganization under the leadership of the CPC. Its source of fund relied solely on the government budget and its administrative staff, who should be politically reliable and professionally qualified and selected from the partly organization at a higher level. By the end of 1960, the number of RCSC branches had increased from 80 to 376, among which 20 were formed at provincial or municipality level and 356 were formed at prefecture and county level. According to the statistics of the RCSC, it had a membership of over 300,000 people, when the reorganization was commenced. But by the time the reorganization was finished, the number of its members has grown to over 5,000,000. The RCSC has trained over 1,800,000 Red Cross social workers to provide medical care service and built up over 50 ,000 Red Cross health centers (Li Dequan, 2007:98) .

However, the breakout of Cultural Revolution put a stop to the work of RCSC within mainland China and it could only provide some international services. In 1978, the *Document No. 63* issued by the State Council ratified the RCSC to resume its internal work on mainland China. Soon, 11 local branches, including that of Wuhan, resumed their work successively. In February 1979, after a long break of 17 years, the 3rd National Convention of RCSC was successfully held in Beijing, on which its major mission in the following period of time was

defined as actively assisting the government to do a better job in non-governmental diplomacy, actively aiding the health and medical care departments to disseminate, mobilize and organize the work of blood donation, and carrying out first-aid training among common people and organize Red Cross activities among the young people. In May 1986, 26 RCSC branches at provincial level, 193 at prefecture and county level and 25,868 RC grassroots units were reestablished or newly built up. By then, the RCSC had already had a membership of 1.87 million, among whom over 620 thousand were group members and over 410 thousand were youth members. On the 4th RCSC National Convention, the *Statutes of the Red Cross Society of China* was discussed and approved, and the goal of the RCSC was changed from “revolutionary humanitarianism” to “humanitarianism”, and the aim of “actively exploring a new path with distinct Chinese characteristic” was first put forward” (Qian Xinzong, 2007:110).

By the end of 2007, the straighten-out work of the RCSC had achieved a great progress: 273 out of 334 prefecture Red Cross branches have been straightened out, with a 81.7% ; 746 out of 2781 county-level Red Cross branches have straightened out, accounting for 26.8% of the total number. All over China, there were 70,000 Red Cross grassroots units, 120 thousand group member units, 1,132,000 volunteers and a membership of 23,980,000, among whom 8,490,000 are adults and 15,490,000 are youth. The number of manning quotas of the RCSC is 7,774, among whom 6,745 are full-time members. By the end of June 2009, the RC society had gained a further development. The management system of 310 branches at prefecture level and 1297 branches at county level had been straightened out, providing an assurance for the effective management of RCSC. The manning quotas, staff members and the tangible assets of the Red Cross branches at all levels continue to increase over the years. By the end of June 2009, the total membership of Red Cross branches at all levels had reached to 9,000. The size of the RCSC, the membership of full-time social

workers as well as its capability of providing social services has been improved dramatically(Jiang Yimang, 2009).

The question is: after 30 years of development, what changes has happened to the RCSC? What are the differences, when compared with its development before the implementation of reform and opening-up policy? What are the differences between the RCSC and the Red Cross Society in Western Countries? What's the internal logic of the development of the RCSC with "distinct Chinese characteristics"? Why is it so? This chapter attempts to analyze the expansion of the RCSC' humanitarian sphere since the introduction of the reform and opening-up policy from the perspective of the essential nature of NGOs.

2. The Transformation of the Social Circumstances for the RCSC

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, its social organizations have experienced two surviving environments, namely the "market-socialism", and "Planning-socialism". The existing research of some scholars indicates that, the Chinese society established in 1949 was a "total society" (Tsou, Tang, 1969: 277--364). The prominent feature of the society at that time was the central and leading role played by the CPC and the leading principle of that time was to maintain a certain social order. American scholars summarized it as a highly unified "planning society" (Pei Yili, 2007). All of the existing non-governmental social organizations were brought into the system of socialist construction, after being transformed and reorganized in socialist China. The CPC was the center of the social system, dominating and manipulating the mobilization and participation of its social members, as well as defining the prerequisite for social organizations. Take the Red Cross societies for example, it should follow the leadership of CPC and stay politically loyal to CPC in its

participation in the socialist construction. Professor Sun Liping(1996) summarizes the basic features of this kind of society into the following five points:

(1) Possessing strong social mobilization power, that is, the government can make full use of the national organizing network to mobilize all the human and material resources;

(2) Lacking the cooperation of middle regions of society, which means that the maintenance of social order relies completely on the controlling force of the government;

(3) Lacking the capacity of autonomy and self-management. The entire social life displays a tendency of politicization and administration;

4) The prevailing of status-based society;

5) The dual role played by the overall ideology plays in social integration and instrumental rationality. Under the social management system of highly unified leadership of the Party and government, the force of the government is able to extend to all aspects of social life. In a social system like this, “the NGOs in China do not play the role of social service, as opposing to the political power of the government. Instead, they are the middle-force between the government and the civil society, and act as a supplement to the role and function of the government.” (Thomas Cirkel, 2000:85)

As is concluded by Jia Xijin (2008:191), when compared with the “freedom of association” in western countries, the features of these NGOs in China in this period of time have some unique features: (1) the NGOs, although not of political nature, give priority to political function when playing its social role, while providing social service is put at the second place; (2) the NGOs are attached to the administrative institutions to ensure their survival, and secretly

carry out activities under the guidance of politically correct discourse.

The RCSC is of no exception. President Qian Xinzhong stated that the RCSC has to conduct its work “under the leadership of the CPC as well the Party and government institutions at all levels, with the support and assistance of certain related departments, and in accordance with people’s needs in production and life”. It is “the assistant of health and medical care departments when conducting the public health and medical care work” (Qian Xinzhong,2007:104—105).

After the introduction of the reform and opening-up policy, the most profound social translation took place in the economic field. Market, instead of government planning, became the dominating mechanism in regulating resource distribution. Along with the transformation in economic field, the political and social fields also witnessed great changes. On the one hand, the functions of the government began to change and the “unit system” collapsed. The government put forward a series of reforms, such as separating government functions from enterprise management and community management, separating government administration from social management etc., which shift the pressure accumulated in the previous periods of “running society through different units” to the “market”.

On the other hand, because it is a process of “groping forward by feeling stones to cross the river”, it is difficult for the government to tell “where exactly the opposite bank is” (Cheng Siwei, 2001:3). As a result, in this transformational process of government function, some responsibility and risks which should be born by the government was also shifted to the market. In line with this mode of reformation, financial subsidies and allocations on the government’s part was cut down as a strategy of reform, only to force these institutions, which were supposed to provide non-profit social services, to seek economic gains in order to maintain their mere existence. Meanwhile, while endowing these institutions

with more autonomy in enlarging their economic gains, the government failed to establish an effective performance evaluation and supervision system. Neither did it set up a sound financial risk management system. Consequently, the boundary between the NGOs and the government and enterprises was not clearly defined and the motivations driving NGOs to provide public services were distorted. The failure and confusion in such fields as education, health and scientific studies can offer three best illustrations for this. The empirical study of the World Bank also clearly demonstrates this point⁵⁷. Market-oriented “industrialization” and “privatization” tend to endow those non-profit organizations with more and more feature of enterprises.

The reason, according to many researchers, lies in the fact that the social circumstances for the development of NGOs has changed. The most prominent manifestation is the gradual establishment of the “market-oriented system”. Under the guiding principle of “development is of overriding importance”, the decision-makers dedicate themselves to the pursuit of economic growth, rather than the establishment of a social system ensuring the realization of basic living allowances and equality of social members. In order to ensure the maximum efficiency and economic growth rate, all other things, including equality, employment, the rights and interests of common employees, public health care, medical insurance, ecological environment etc., have to make concessions. At that time, the “trickling down effect” preached by those neo-liberal economists were very popular: as long as economy continues to grow, other problems would be easily solved sooner or later (Wang Shaoguang 2008:129—148). Soon, the power of market went beyond the borders of economy, and penetrated to the entire social system, and eventually it grew to be the dominating power of the whole society. The so-called “market society” (Karl Polanyi, 1944), as was termed by Polanyi, was formed. Within this market society, people’s livelihood

⁵⁷See China: Deepening Public Service Unit Reform to Improve Service Delivery. The World Bank 1818 H Street N.W. Washington D.C.20433, U. S. A.

was dictated by the market. Since the market only serves those who can pay, people's welfare depends solely on their paying ability. As a result, the broad masses, such as common workers and peasants, can have access to less and less social security and relief service. As the gap between the rich and the poor continued to expand, those social service institutions which relies on charging their service objects degenerated to an obstacle, blocking the way of those poverty-struck people to have access to desired social services. Large-scale unemployment, lack of education and medical resources, frequent outbreak of all sorts of accidents and catastrophes make people realize rather painfully that they were living in a society lack of economic and social security.

In the 1990s, NGOs, a kind of institutional arrangement, were regarded by many policy-makers and researchers to be a vehicle for social reform. Their values lied in trust and motivation. By weakening the profit motive and then institutionalizing this motive, it was very helpful in establishing the trust of consumers and donators towards those providers of social services. This kind of trust contributes to the reduction of transaction cost and was able to make possible those transactions that were impossible in market to happen. When the NGOs pay for services with donated money, it represented a new payment mechanism, which was different from that of the government and profit-making institutions. The research group led by Cheng Siwei emphasized that paying for public goods through charity donations and by charging service users should become the major source of innovation for conducting social service studies. What's more, it was also feasible to make NGOs the major undertakers of social services by means of strengthening legislation and scientific management, and establishing favorable policies for them(Cheng Siwei,2001).

Although people in general have been aware of the fact that reforms in China have come to a vital transitional period, and a critical time when extra stress should be put on the harmonious and coordinate development between

economy and society, the key was still held in the hands of the decision-makers. It was the awareness of the seriousness of this issue and their determination in conducting further reformation that decides the future of the country. Deng Xiaoping, the chief designer of the reform and opening-up policy, warned that “the very purpose of socialism is to realize common prosperity of all people rather than polarization. If our policy leads to polarization, we shall fail”. “If polarization appears, conflicts among ethnic groups, regions and classes will be intensified. Meanwhile, the conflict between the central and the local governments will also be intensified accordingly. (If these conflicts accumulated continuously) there might even be a social unrest.”(Deng Xiaoping, 1993:364) To alleviate these social conflicts, the Chinese government made a bigger effort to deal with the issue of “social justice”. The government issued a series of social policies in recent years, including implementing new policies on rural taxes and dues, building new type of rural cooperative medical care system, strengthen investment in poverty alleviation projects, etc. The aim of these policies can be categorized in the following two points: firstly to minimize inequality and secondly to eliminate factors that may lead to social unrest. Some scholars have observed that “China is now heading for a new period of social policies.” (Wang Sibing, 2005)

Apart from principles and policies, agreeable environment is still desired for the NGOs to grow and flourish. With the development of industrialization, the functions of social organizations were also gradually differentiated. A large number of non-profit organizations and institutions providing social services were set up. Under this circumstances, the government attempts to solve the problem with institutionalized methods, which may usher in a time of social policies. It is safe to say that China is on its way toward the new era of social policy. The proposal of “building a harmonious society” by the CPC was a perfect embodiment of this aim. After working out the aim, the key to success then goes to the design and the implementation of policies, because all great

ideas are in need of concrete policies so that they can be put into practice one by one. If failure occurs in the process of policy making or implementing, however advanced the ideal maybe, it would remain an “expression” of “idealism”, rather than bring real benefits to the masses. As China’s economy continues to grow, the government is in possession of more and more economic and fiscal resources. The government is able and willing to make generous contribution to “people’s wellbeing”. Most government organizations, however, are still under the negative influence of their “power views” and their willingness is undermined by the possible detrimental impact those policy may have on their “department interests”. Naturally, problems started to pour out in the process of policy-making and policy-implementing. Among all these factors, the most important one is the attitude that the Party and government have towards the NGOs.

The reform in China is dominated by the CPC and the government, so is the conducting of the opening-up policy. With the government as the dominating force, the development of NGOs has to be developed under the leadership of the CPC and the government. By studying the development mode of NGOs in general, some scholars find out that governmental selection and social selection are two different operating systems, and that the development of NGOs in China experienced a transformation from governmental selection to social selection (Wang Ming, 2001). The fundamental conclusion is that the NGOs in China is developed under the guidance of the government and possesses a dualistic structure of civil versus governmental. The governmental selection is conducted in a top-to-bottom mode and will not change essentially in the near future. The problem is that the government does not treat all the NGOs equally. Some of them enjoy more government support and have a more agreeable developing environment than others.

How does such a structure with different treatments and orders formed? Many

researches have studied this issue from the perspective of “dual management systems”, which are argued that “in order to realize social transformation and maintain social stability, the government, besides controlling the ideology and social participation of these organizations, adopts four types of management strategies, namely, support, absorption, substitution and control (Liu Peifeng, 2008). Lin Shangli (2008), however, maintains that the government’s management of NGOs is a sequential process, starting from controlling, regulating, guiding and finally to integrating. According to the attributes of NGOs, Kang Xiaoguang (2008) and some other scholars summarizes the management logic of the government as the logic of controlling and the logic of developing. These researches all point out the fact that the government enjoys absolute advantage in administering NGOs and possesses great autonomy, and that, due to the special social environment for the existing of NGOs, the current dependency of NGOs on the support and management of the government will last for a long time. The defects of these researches lie in the fact that they didn’t give due consideration to the reaction of the NGOs towards the controlling and developing strategies of the government, and that their studies lacked the support of empirical evidence. In fact, their researches were done under the pre-condition that all the NGOs were of the same nature, interacted with the government in the same way and passively accepted the government’s control.

As a matter of fact, those NGOs which are under the leadership of the government do not play the passive role of supplementing the government’s function. Instead they have been actively engaging in expanding their own spheres of development. The following part will focus on analyzing how the RCSC expands its own surviving sphere, as well as the reason, the pattern and features of its development.

3. Substitution and Expansion of Humanitarian Sphere

The term “space/ sphere” used here is borrowed from Habermas’s definition of “public sphere”, which refers to the middle ground between the government and the society, a space/sphere where citizens take the initiative to take part in social affairs. It is a place where individuals alone cannot succeed, and which the Party and the government failed to take into their management system. In this place, the needs and values of the public can be brought to full play. The active participation of those citizens with independent thinking, enterprises and mass media with strong social responsibilities can be realized. The convergence of a great variety of social, economic and political resources helps to expand and enlarge the public sphere continuously, giving birth to more and more social organizations (NGOs). All sorts of NGOs are regarded as the “institutionalized carrier of the public sphere” (Habermas, 1999:29). After the introduction of the reform and opening-up policy, along with the social transformation, more and more public spheres spring up in all stratus and fields of Chinese society. They do not only appear in spheres between the government and the market, but also between the market and the society and even within systems of the national government, the whole society, and the market itself, with the tendency to expand to all other possible public sphere. They attract more and more social resources, mobilize a even larger number of volunteers to participate, conduct all kinds of public services, and eventually set up an alternative service system which is different from the one provided by the government or the market. Those NGOs struggle for their survival mainly in marginalized areas which the Party and the government fail to cover. It is, in fact, “a transfer of spheres” or “expanding of spheres” when the society and the government are in the process of transforming their function (He Liping, 2007:18—19). Some of these spheres are transferred to them by the government, others are given to them by the government out of no choice, and still some are gained or expanded due to their incessant efforts. The protection of the environment is one of the many typical

examples. According to the surveys conducted by Wang Ming and some other experts, there are about 14,000 NGOs dedicated to environmental protection (Wang Ming, 2008: 40). There certainly are some restricted areas. A case in point is the humanitarian sphere. The humanitarian sphere is a very broad field, covering every aspect related to the respect and care to life and dignity. In reality, however, “the humanitarian issues can not be settled humanely” (David Rieff, 2002). From past till today, the issue of “humanitarian intervention” has always been the most prominent representation of conflicts between order and justice” (Wheeler, 2000: 3). The relief actions carried out of “humanism concern”, if conducted against a person’s free will, will always incur criticism of “humanitarian intervention”.

3.1 The Red Cross Society Traditional Sphere and its Evolution

Humanitarianism originated from the European Renaissance when great importance was attached to “human beings”. Its core ideas are to show respect, care and compassion to human beings. As a trend of thought and theory, humanitarianism gradually came into being in the 15th Century. It firstly displayed itself in the fields of literature and art, and gradually spread into other fields. Its formation entailed a large number of schools and absorbs a great variety of complicated thoughts and ideas. For instance, the concept of “Marx’s Humanitarianism” proposed by Lukacs had profound theoretical influence and exerted great impact on the settlement of social issues. Another example can be found in the first half of the 19th Century when a Humanitarian Reform with far-reaching influence was conducted. The reform at that time took sides with such disadvantaged groups as the slaves, women, children, the handicapped, mental patients, criminals, the poor, and so on, to appeal for the protection of their legal rights. Different schools of thought may maintain different stance on a certain issue, or contradict each other on some other issues, but they agreed on the fundamental idea, which can be concluded as the following two points:

Firstly, they have similar comprehension about the very essence of humanitarian spirit, that is, the understanding of humanity and the very nature of human beings. Lukacs(1989) has noted that “Humanity is the very nature of a human being”, “Humanity is the supreme value of a human being”, and “Humanity is the end rather than the means”. Those observations are regarded as the best illustration for the comprehension of humanitarian values. Among them, “Humanity is the very nature of a human being” is the most fundamental, and can be used as the best illustration of the most essential significance of humanitarianism.

Secondly, humanitarianism is not only a thought, but also a practice. “To regard a human being as a human, to respect and care for them” is the practical requirement for humanitarianism. The embodiment or representation of humanitarianism principle in practice is also called “philanthropism” or “charity”. In the relief practice, primary help and relief should be given to the recipients’ humanitarian needs. It should not be a simple act of providing them with financial and material aids, but should also include mental and psychological support as well as showing respect for their dignity, religious beliefs and so on. Thus, the humanitarian relief work should be conducted under the guidance of certain procedures and principles. To solve this issue, some NGOs aiming at humanitarian services, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Mercy Corps, etc., initiated a global plan (The Sphere Project – <http://www.sphereproject.org>) and drafted a document, entitled *Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Disaster Response*. The core idea of the book is to provide as much service as possible to the needy, to respect the dignity of the disaster victims and to protect their rights of those being helped humanely. Over 400 organizations in more than 80 countries and regions took part in the global plan. They co-formulated and revised the *Humanitarian Charter* and the minimum standards for relief activities. The handbook was first published in the year 2000 and was re-published after a

complete revision in 2004. It is made up of the two parts, namely, *Humanitarian Charter* and *The Minimum Standards for Relief*, aiming to provide those victims suffering from natural disasters and armed conflicts with help at the specified level and promote the observation of basic humanitarian principles. The very purpose is to standardize relief activities and to improve the efficiency of relief actions.

The origin of Red Cross humanitarian relief can be dated back to the care for wounded soldiers in the war, and it was from its very birth that the specific goals and content of services of the Red Cross were formed. First of all, the Red Cross humanitarianism cared for and helped those who were wounded and lost their fighting capacity in the war or those who had already surrendered. It sought to protect their lives and dignity. It was the respect for life and dignity that laid a solid foundation for the cause of the Red Cross humanitarian relief and the expansion of its range of services. Secondly, from the very beginning, the members of the Red Cross adhere strictly to the principles of justice, neutrality and independence when conducting humanitarian relief activities. Henri Dunant described the Red Cross mission as “the humanitarian gesture without prejudice against any race or nation”. As a result, the Red Cross humanitarian principles and relief activities can be conducted on a very inclusive basis and can win the recognition and support of people from different countries, different ethnic groups, cultures, as well as social systems and even two belligerent parties at war. It is because of this spirit of solidarity, harmony, and mutual help and love that a new era of international cooperation on humanitarian relief is ushered. Thirdly, the Red Cross humanitarian service is mainly carried out through voluntary actions (including free donation and voluntary services). It is its dedication to altruism that ensured the steady flow of human and material resources needed for the conduction of Red Cross relief activities.

With the change of wars as well as the development of economy and society, the service objects of the Red Cross gradually extended to all the wounded soldiers in battlefields, prisoners in armed conflicts, refugees and victims in all kinds of disasters, and its working domain was expanded from humanitarian relief to humanitarian services of various kinds. The 20th International Red Cross Convention in 1965 stated very clearly that “The Red Cross relief is not restricted in wartime. The Red Cross humanitarian spirit will be brought to people’s everyday life.” The 25th International Red Cross Convention in 1986 passed the *International Red Cross Movement Statute*, in which it further confirms that the Red Cross movement is “a worldwide humanitarian movement.” Its major tasks are: 1) to prevent and alleviate human sufferings wherever possible; 2) to protect human life and health; 3) to secure human dignity, especially in times of armed conflicts or other emergencies; 4) to prevent diseases and promote health and social welfare; 5) to foster volunteer services and to encourage those who need protection and help to develop a sense of universal compassion. It adds to the elaboration of humanitarian principle the sentence of “promoting mutual understanding, friendship and cooperation among people, and facilitating the lasting peace.” As for the tasks, it requires “the Red Cross Societies aim to provide help to the governments in their humanitarian work for the purpose of meeting the needs of their own people.” Hence one can see that although the Red Cross Societies work as the assistants of the governments, they can determine the range and extent for humanitarian relief and social services, based on their own capacity. However, as far as the humanitarian purpose and the aim of “improving the condition of the most vulnerable group” are concerned, its work has infinite possibilities for future expansion. Even if the society has been highly developed and the three civilizations have been realized, there are bound to be people who may suffer from the torture of disease, disability, old age or the outbreak of natural disasters. As long as there are wars, conflicts, natural disasters and other sufferings in the world, humanitarian organizations like the Red Cross Societies

are needed to provide volunteer services. As long as there are all kinds of adversary factors endangering people's health or affecting people's normal life, or there are troubled groups in need of help, the humanitarian spirit is needed to be brought into full play.

3.2 Expansion of the RCSC's Service Sphere in China

Humanitarianism serves both as the core value and the guiding principle for the RC society to conduct all kinds of activities. Since the service objects vary from time to time, the service sphere keeps changing accordingly. The changing of RC Society's service sphere in China has experienced four phases.

The first phase is battlefield rescue and relief. Battlefield rescue and relief gave birth to Red Cross societies in China. The foundation of the Shanghai Multi-Country Red Cross Society in 1904 was generally regarded as the beginning of the RCSC. In the academic circles, only Min Jie (1998) and Zhou Qiuguang(2000) once made specific studies on the origin of this society. The direct reason leading to its foundation was to rescue and help victims of the Japan-Russia war in northeast China. China, together with the other four neutral countries, namely Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States, set up the "Shanghai Multi-Country Red Cross Society".

Zhu Hu's research shows that the development of RC Society in China follows a unique route. The result further explains that the development of this society is related to the emergence of non-governmental disaster relief in late period of Qing Dynasty, which had been in existence for a long time and had profound historical and social influence(2002; 2005: 28—32). In late period of the Qing Dynasty, due to the outbreak of severe disasters and famines and the decay of the corrupted government as well as the great changes in social and economic structures, the common people voluntarily started the campaign of cross-region disaster relief activities. Their guiding principle was "sponsored and managed

by the people". Shanghai was not only the cradle of the activity, but also soon developed into the center of the entire non-governmental disaster relief activity. Eight out of the ten Chinese board directors picked up by the Multi-Country Red Cross Society were Shanghai gentry-merchants who constantly took part in those non-governmental disaster relief activities. Most of them were gentry or merchants who enjoyed a good reputation and had organized disaster relief action for years. To some extent, it can be concluded that the donation of the RC society was the extension of this non-governmental disaster relief action. Therefore, the successful establishment of the early RC Society lies not in the fact that there were certain connections between the social service culture of the western countries and that of the Chinese ones. But instead, it mainly depends on the local social service resources. Meanwhile, by making use of the RC society as a media, the social organizations at regional level were able to improve its space identification dramatically. On the other hand, it facilitates the final acceptance and integration of the RC society in China.

The second phase is an intertwined period when revolutionary humanitarianism was mixed with humanitarian relief. During the Republican Period, the RC humanitarian movement has gradually gone beyond the simple action of conducting rescue and relief activities in wartime, and developed into an organization providing social services covering many fields, such as providing help to victims of social disturbances, natural disaster, plague, or political conflicts, etc., rescuing lives, protecting their dignity and appeasing their emotions. At that time, China was in incessant social unrest. Battles broke out one after another and people suffered great losses. After the Revolution of 1911, the political institution in China changed suddenly from the system of absolute monarchy to the rule of democratic republic. People could not adjust to this dramatic change all at once and had no idea what to do and where to start. They were plunged into complete confusion and anarchy state of social transformation. The government at that time, however, was under huge

financial pressure, and thus it was unable to support charity organizations or perform any form of social service. The non-governmental charity organizations then played a leading role(Li Guolin,2003).The RC society provided a wide range of social service at that time, including providing social relief for ordinary people and battlefield rescue for the wounded. In the civil war between the Kuomintang and the CPC, the latter's preferential treatment was given to war prisoners, and became the slogan and a powerful weapon in shaking KMT army's morale. Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the CPC, noted that "releasing war prisoners and providing medical care for the wounded soldiers is the most effective way of disintegrating the enemy's morale". When the ordinary soldiers or commanders of battalion, company and platoons are captured by us, they should be educated and treated in a humanistic way. In this way, the deceitful propaganda that "the CPC bandits kill whoever they meet" will be debunked immediately ...Treating wounded soldiers of the enemy is also an effective method"(Mao Zedong,1991:66). Judging from historical facts, the conducting of revolutionary humanitarianism was the best way to make the enemy troops and the common people to see the true nature of the CPC army. Following the principles of revolutionary humanitarianism effectively improved the image of the CPC and its army, strengthened its revolutionary force, and laid a solid foundation for the future development of the socialism cause among the great masses. Of course, this kind of humanitarianism in this special historic period is inevitably marked with an imprint of class conflict.

The guideline of "healing the wounded, rescuing the dying, and implementing the revolutionary humanitarianism" is proposed by the CPC under the special circumstance of the cruel wartime. It is a clear indication that the revolutionary war led by the CPC is not only a just war, but also a war with humanitarian nature. This humanitarian nature is demonstrated by the very act of showing respect for the dignity of the enemies who have put down their weapons or lost the fighting power, or the healing of wounded as well as the rescue of the dying.

Moreover, transforming their political views through ideological education and re-education through labor offered those people with a chance of starting a new life by becoming a new person, a good person. The humanitarian spirit at that time is catered to serve specific targets. At that time, it plays a positive role in winning people's understanding, sympathy and support and in disintegrating and defeating enemies. Let's take Premier Zhou Enlai's comment as an example. When asked about how to treat Japanese war prisoners and traitors in the anti-Japanese war, he replied that "we should adopt the revolutionary humanitarian policy and educate them with our ideology." "We should vigorously carry out the education of the prisoners to make them confess and repent their crimes and gradually turn them into a new person who advocates anti-militarism and serves the cause of promoting a friendly Sino-Japan relationship." "We should enhance the ideological education as well as the security education of our cadres and soldiers to ensure that every prisoner is kept safe and sound"⁵⁸. Until the 3rd National Convention in 1979, "implementing revolutionary humanitarianism" had been the "ultimate goal of the RCSC." The RCSC carried out its work by following Chairman Mao's instruction of "healing the wounded and rescuing the dying, and implementing the revolutionary humanitarianism". The word "revolutionary" was used to modify "humanitarianism" is a way to highlight its revolutionary nature, so that it can be differentiated from the humanitarianism of capitalism. It is also a product of the class struggle and conflicts at that special historical period.

In 1985, "General Principles" of the *Statute* redefined the RCSC as an organization as a "national society aiming to provide the common people with social services" by following "the principle of humanitarianism". It was until then that the attribute "revolutionary" was removed. In fact, revolution and humanitarianism are not mutually exclusive. Instead, they form a relation of

⁵⁸See Sun Guo: Documentary of Reform Japanese War Criminals. JieFang(Liberation) Daily. March 8, 2007.

coexistence and interaction, because revolution is not the ultimate goal, and the objective of revolution is to better realize the humanitarian spirit. As is stated in *Quatre_Vingt_Treize* (an outstanding novel written by Victor Hugo), Hugo wrote that “above the absolutely correct revolution, there also is an absolutely correct humanism”.

In the third stage, the RCSC focuses on providing health and medical care services to the public. When the RCSC was first founded in 1949, the major problem was how to conduct professional social services and promote the development of the organization within the framework of humanitarianism. One theory is that since humanitarianism covers a wide range of areas and the Red Cross Society is a universal organization aiming at providing services to the masses, it should undertake the work of providing service to public health care work, apart from disaster relief and social welfare work. It advocates to vigorously develop the Red Cross grassroots units, which can serve as the grassroots units of the patriotic sanitation campaign. Another group of people holds that in the socialist society, people rely on the government from the time they were born to the time they were dead, which leaves the RC society little work or room to serve the people. In order to meet the needs of international humanitarian operation, a few RC societies in several large cities will suffice. It is not necessary to develop it on a large scale. As for the scale of the development of the RC society, Premier Zhou Enlai issued the instruction of “moderate development” (Zhu Zihui, 2006: 895).

But what should we deal with the RCSC? Judging from the current situation, the Red Cross Society is still needed. Because “the whole nation is now faced with the new task of healing the trauma of war, improving people’s living conditions and strengthening economic construction, people need the RC society to serve for their interests by taking a firm stand on their side”. “The social existence of the RC humanitarianism is determined by actual needs of

social development”⁵⁹. What’s more, the RCSC, after numerous changes of dynasties, has come into existence for 46 years and has grown into an irreplaceable part for social development.

In the long run, it is generally believed that under the socialist system the relief work will gradually disappear with the development of the country’s economy. The RC society, however, is an exception. Its guiding line is to “uphold humanitarianism and maintain sanitation”. “There will still be work to do even when entering the communist society. It has a bright future. It is due to this kind of judgment and decision that the RCSC was reorganized. The *Statute* stipulated that the Red Cross should be “the group to provide service for the improvement people’s health”. From then on, China began to use the Red Cross to represent the cause of health and medical care. The RCSC and its branches at all levels started to devote themselves to spreading information about how to maintain health and sanitary, dissemination knowledge about sanitation and health care, launch all kinds of first-aid training programs as well as host lectures about health training and first-aid skills. The mass health campaign aiming at “Eliminating the four kinds of pests and maintaining health” became the major work of the RCSC. In order to avoid overlapping of work and of institutions, the RCSC and the Ministry of Health co-issued a notification in 1960, requiring that the RC grassroots units, i.e. RC Health Centers, should cooperate with those of the Patriotic Health Campaign Committee (PHCC) in order to work more efficiently. By the year 1999, the RCSC branches at all levels had all been taken into the administrative system of the Health Ministry, which made many people mistake the Red Cross symbol to be the symbol for medical staff or medical institutions, or the different levels of health administrative departments.

The RC health center is an organization aiming at providing health and medical care for the masses. Unlike the institution or departments of the government, it

⁵⁹Zhongguo Hongshizihui Zonghui, “A Selection of History Data of the RCSC(1950—2004)”. Beijing: publishing House of Minority Nationalities press. 2005.p1.

is not an official institution. The RC society itself can not provide standing positions for full-time staff, neither can it give them the manning quotas and pay them. What's more, as the planned economic system was further intensified, there was no room for an independent organization like the RCSC to exist outside the administrative system. By 1958, the RCSC eventually stopped working within mainland China. It was disintegrated and its staff members as well as administrative system were completely integrated into the health departments. And it had to work "closely with the PCCC of the Health Ministry." A lot of the RC local branches began to work in the same office with the local health institutions. After that, some RCSC branches retained the RCSC officially budgeted posts and cadres. Its major work was to carry out "civil diplomacy." For example, during the period of the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, they dispatched international medical teams to work in Korea. After the war, they took part in the international RC team to help repatriating war prisoners, and assist Japanese war criminals to return to their own country as well as overseas Chinese from Japan to visit their relatives. Some other RCSC branches retained the RCSC officially budgeted posts and cadres, but it didn't have many chances to provide social services. The majorities of the RCSC branches were allowed to work under the name of the RCSC, but rescinded all institutions and officially budgeted posts. As a matter of fact, the RCSC has become a subordinate unit to the Health Ministry. From 1961 to 1978, no single council meeting or working conference was held for as long as 17 years. There was no unified plan or arrangement for any social work within mainland China. In conclusion, the RC society at that time "did not only lack the guiding principles but also in need of management personnel". During the Culture Revolution Movement, "the headquarters and local branches of the RC have been rescinded, the staff transferred, houses evicted, furniture segregated, equipments and materials taken away, files and books sold and burned as wastes. The RCSC, from the headquarters to grassroots units, was publicly criticized and denounced as "the small temple blowing evil winds" and "the bureaucrat

health center” (Qian Xinzong, 2006: 108—109). The RCSC’ health care service declined to be the administrative department for the participation of mass political struggle, rather than providing any sort of public service.

The feature of the fourth phase can be summed up as the “4Rs” (rescue, relief, recovery). Since the implementation of the reform and opening-up policy, the humanitarian ideal has been studied by using social practices as examples and its sphere of service continued to expand. From Feb. 12, 1979 when the RCSC held its third National Convention to December 2009 when it held its ninth National Convention, we find out, by reviewing the seven “working reports” delivered by all previous presidents, that the RCSC redefined its aim as “improving the situation of the most vulnerable group”, and broadened its sphere of humanitarian operation. From Table 1, we can see that after seven revisions, the *Statute* was finally approved and the service sphere of the RC society has always been expanding.

Table1: Expanding Process of the RCSC Service Sphere

Time of Revision	Description	Service	objective
Feb. 21, 1979	National Health Care Organization	To carry out health care service for the masses	1) popularizing and spreading knowledge about health and sanitation; 2) popularization, mobilization and organization of blood donation; 3) first-aid training; 4) the RC youth work; 5) non-government diplomacy
June 1, 1985	National Health Care and Social Welfare Organization	To organize health care and social welfare activities	1) health care and first-aid training; 2) mobilization of voluntary blood donation; 3) to initiate health care and social welfare service; 4) the RC youth work; 5) non-government diplomacy
Feb. 25, 1990	National Health Care and Social Welfare	The mass health care and social welfare activities	1) health care and first-aid training; 2) dissemination and mobilization of non-remunerated blood donation; 3)

	Organization		to carry on health care and social welfare career; 4) the RC youth work; 5) non-government diplomacy; 6)Taiwan issues
April 25, 1994	Social relief organization conducting humanitarian work	Conducting humanitarian relief operations	1) health care and first-aid training; 2) mobilization of non-remunerated blood donation; 3) disaster prevention and relief; 4) searcher for the unrelated BMT donator; 5) the RC youth work; 6) non-government diplomacy; 7) Taiwan affairs; 8) to set up social welfare entities
Oct. 13, 1999	Social Relief Organization Conducting Humanitarian Work	Conducting humanitarian relief operations	1) the series of RC philanthropy social projects (the rescue project, the life project and the love project) 2) some traditional work such as disaster prevention and relief, health care, blood donation and the RC youth activities; 3) poverty relief; 4) community work; 5) non-government diplomacy; 6) Taiwan affairs; 7) to set up social welfare entities
Oct. 29, 2004	Social Relief Organization Conducting Humanitarian Work	Conducting humanitarian relief operations	1) disaster prevention and relief as well as emergency rescue and relief; 2) health care and first-aid training; 3) non-remunerated blood donation; 4) BMT; 5) the database of hscs (hemopoietic stem cells) donators in China; 6) registration of body donation; 7) the RC community service; 8) the RC youth activities; 9) poverty relief; 10) non-government diplomacy; 11) Taiwan affairs; 12) to set up social welfare entities
Oct. 27, 2009	Social Relief Organization Conducting Humanitarian Work	Conducting humanitarian relief operations	To develop 7 operations: “ the RC Rescue Operation”, “the RC Relief Operation”, “the RC Salvation Operation”, “the RC Dissemination Operation”, “the RC Strengthening Operation”, “ the RC Voluntary Service Operation”, “the RC Non-governmental Diplomacy

			Operation”.
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(Source: work reports of the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th National Convention and the proceedings of the 9th National Convention.)

3.3 Characteristics of the RCSC’ Sphere Expanding

From Table 1, after the implementation of reform and opening-up policy, the RCSC has displayed two distinctive characteristics in expanding its service sphere:

(1) Transformation of its work from health care to social relief.

Before 1999, the RC society identified itself as “an organization to provide service for people’s health care and social welfare”, mainly working on health care. In 1993, the NPC officially promulgated *The Red Cross Law of the People’s Republic of China*, in which the RCSC was re-identified as “social relief organization conducting humanitarian work”. According to the law, the RC society mainly had 7 obligations: 1) to carry out the work of disaster prevention and relief, that is to say, the RC society must aid the wounded and other victims of natural disasters and emergencies; 2) to popularize health care and disease-prevention knowledge, organize primary health care and first-aid training, organize the public to take part in field rescue, participate in the work of blood donation and transfusion, encourage non-remunerated blood donation as well as conduct other humanitarian operations; 3) to carry out the RC youth activities; 4) to take part in international humanitarian relief operations; 5) to popularize the basic principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Campaign, the Geneva Conventions and its additional protocols; 6) to accomplish the affairs entrusted by the government in accordance with the basic principles of the Geneva Conventions and its additional protocols. 7) To provide social services according to the related regulations of the Geneva Conventions and its additional protocols. Among them, the 1st, 2nd and 4th

obligations can be summarized as “disaster relief, health care and humanitarian succor”, which are the universal services conducted by international RC organizations. The 5th, 6th, and 7th items are a description of the RC organizations work as “the assistant of the government”. The implementation of the Geneva Conventions and its additional protocols serves as a certain substitution for part of the government’s functions. Obviously, the RCSC’ service sphere becomes much broader than the previous task of simply conducting “health care”.

(2) Transformation from emergency relief to the combination of emergency and development relief.

The RCSC has been dedicated to alleviating the “desperate” situation in which the whole community’s living opportunity is in danger because of the natural disasters or political conflicts. The word “humanitarian” was first used to refer to “emergency action”. The objective of development assistance, however, is to improve the living conditions of those in a relatively stable situation but their circumstances are not good enough. “Emergency relief” and “development assistance” have different emphasis due to their differences in principles, mode of operations and institutional arrangements. At the 6th National Convention in 1994, the vice President Gu Yingqi suggested that the RC society should “gradually expand its sphere of social relief in the humanitarian field”, and to make “development assistance, disaster prevention and health care the major tasks of its future work”(Gu Yingqi, 2006: 132—133).

Emergency relief activities are different from development programs. Breakman (1996) argue that: 1) theoretically speaking, emergency relief cannot be planned or budgeted beforehand, (2) to coordinate operations that must be finished within a short time, there are all kinds of needs to be satisfied. The participants must display their utmost organizing abilities, and 3) Emergency relief operations draw intensive attention from the media, while the development

programs are not necessarily so.

The reason for the combination of development and emergency relief may lie in the fact that humanitarianism, charity and “developmentalism” uphold the same sort of ideal, that is, human beings are interdependent and other people’s misfortune may jeopardize people unconcerned. Nobody can stay independently outside the “emergency”. Once the concept of “victim” extends to include people living in a stable social environment, the “humanitarian relief” given to them is transformed into a part of “development assistance”. It is especially true for long-term programs. In interviews with the RCSC, I usually heard that, “this is the “compulsory exercise” of the RCSC”, and “that is the optional exercise of the RC society”. Both “compulsory exercise” and “optional exercise” are originally sports terms, which are used here to signify that changes taking place in the nature of the RCSC service. If obligations stipulated in the *Red Cross Society Act* are the “compulsory exercise” that must be implemented, services provided by all the local branches of the RCSC according to their local conditions can then be referred to as the “optional exercise”. Judging from the conduct of “optional exercises”, we find out that the autonomy of the RC branches is increasingly strengthened. The RC poverty relief activities fully manifest this point.

Since the 1980s, RCSC have been engaged in establishing RCSC branches in rural areas. And to enhance the work of the RC societies in rural and poverty-stricken areas, the future development of the RC societies in these areas were written into the *2005-2009 Development Planning of Chinese Red Cross Society*. The purpose is to ensure that due attention could be paid to the development of Red Cross societies so that it could be expanded from large and medium cities to small cities, from urban communities to rural areas.

The campaign of “Bring Love to Millions of Family” organized by the Red Cross Society of China is a well-known brand program through which the

RCSC provides humanitarian relief to needy people and families in poverty-stricken areas. It has extensive contents. Since 1999, the branches of RCSC have organized one campaign after another to provide financial aid to the needy people with self-raised fund during the New Year or the Spring Festival, a time when every family is supposed to have a happy reunion. Later on, their work content gradually increased, work sphere expanded, operation mode standardized. After the headquarter of the RCSC and Ministry of Civil Affairs co-issued the “*Notification of Conducting the Red Cross Community Service*” in 2002, the RC branches at all levels began to carry out all kinds of community services like social service, training, fund-raising and relief activities. Since 2003, this program has received the support of the National Lottery Welfare Fund. Every year the RCSC takes RMB 5, 000,000 Yuan from this fund and purchases 25,000 boxes of assistance kits to extend greetings and solicitude to people in disaster-hit regions, destitute households in poor areas, ethnic minorities in remote regions, laid-off workers in urban areas, families relying on basic living allowances and so on. It spares no effort in realizing the aim of improving the living conditions of the most vulnerable groups. The program is still working at present. The branch of RCSC at all levels has carried out the activity of “Bring Love to Millions of Families” in different forms, so that an increasing number of people can benefit from this. Meanwhile, the Red Cross societies of different levels have expanded its service sphere to cover the needs of different groups of people and better satisfy the needs of the public. All the emergency and poverty relief programs and activities have brought humanitarian care to communities and people in difficulties.

The year 2009 marked the 10th anniversary of Shanghai Red Cross Society’s project “Millions of People Assisting Millions of Families”. During the past ten years, the project has helped over 100,000 needy people to enjoy a happy and peaceful new year, with over RMB50, 000,000 worth of money and materials invested into the project. In the course of building up its brand image, the

organizers of this project gradually expanded the range of service objects from the original cancer patients, mental patients and the handicapped caused by leper of destitute families, the poverty-stricken elderly suffering from disease, people suffering great losses in accidents or disasters to the destitute group of HIV/ AIDS patients. Compared with the traditional community service, the range of its objects was expanded to a larger degree. Other cities, including Wuhan, Chongqing, Tianjin, etc. all carried out similar activities like “Millions of People Assisting Millions of Families”, “Five One-Hundred Project”, “Giving Project” and etc. The range of communities benefiting from these social services began to expand from large cities to middle and small cities as well as the rural areas. The RC volunteers organized by the Community Red Cross Society conducted one-to-one social work like helping the elderly who has no home, the old, the sick, the handicapped and the destitute citizens all the year around. The assisting activities are carried out both by providing material assistance and spiritual assistance. For those destitute families and poverty-stricken citizens, they were provided with material resources, while for the solitary, the old or the sick ones, they were helped with everyday lives, and some volunteers stayed with them to do the daily housework, talked with them and supported them with consolation.

The international cooperative project is another typical example of emphasis on development assistance, which can be mainly divided into four parts: (1) to show care and concern for the prevention of HIV/AIDS. It is an issue that has attracted great international attention as well as the largest amount of investment, covering the widest area and accounting for the largest part of the whole project; (2) “community-oriented” disaster prevention and relief project. It is also a project widely practiced at present, including the improvement of drinking water system in rural areas, drills of disaster emergency response and popularizing medical and sanitation knowledge; (3) Health project in rural areas. These projects include cataract surgery, maternity and child care, rural doctor

training, medical center construction, popularizing knowledge about Bird Flu prevention and etc.; (4) the project concerning the development and the ability-construction of the RC society. In terms of project approval, the most distinctive characteristic is “from the grassroots and for the grassroots units”. In connection with this, the guiding principle of project approval shifts from “from the top to grassroots” to “from grassroots to the top”, that is, “to promote the method of "participation" and give full display to the volunteers’ power, by making them the major force in the implementation of the project”, for it is hard to finish the task by simply relying on the RC staff. Besides, “no matter in the course of conducting the HIV/AIDS project or the community disaster prevention and relief project, the institutional development and capability construction of the Red Cross societies are all taken into consideration and budgeted.” Therefore, the development of international cooperative projects will not only benefit local people, but also serve as an important driving force for the growth of the RC grassroots talents. In the past, the international cooperative projects conducted by the RCSC depended a lot on foreign support for not only financial investment, but also the importing of ideas, technology, method, personnel and so on. At present, however, through the operation of these projects, the “dependent type” has finally transformed into an “independent type” and the RCSC has improved its autonomy therefore.

A third typical example is the innovation of traditional emergency relief projects, which includes the innovation of guideline of service, service content, service range, techniques etc.. It stresses on the integration of emergency relief and development assistance. Wang Ping, head of the Relief and Rescue Department of RCSC said that “the Indian Ocean Tsunami was an important turning point for the RCSC relief work.” Faced with the frequent occurrence of various kinds of disasters, we should not be contented with the current state of responding to disaster passively. There are four measures to be taken.

First and foremost we should improve the guiding principle of disaster relief and strengthen the construction of emergency response system. As early as 2003 when the spreading of SARS came to an end, the central government started the construction of emergency response system, making “one plan and three systems” its major contents. “One plan” refers to the formulation of emergency response plans, and “three systems” refer to the establishment of a satisfying emergency response management system, mechanism and legal systems. From then on, RCSC was integrated into the national emergency response system, and began to develop and improve its own construction. The *Emergency Response Plan of RCSC for Public Occurrences Like Natural Disasters* issued in 2005 was listed among the 80 national overall emergency plan system of China by the State Council, which marked the successful transformation of the Red Cross Society to be an important organization of the national emergency response system. Soon after this, branches of RCSC at all levels worked out their own emergency response plans successively, and a nationwide Red Cross emergency response plan network was gradually formed, enabling disaster relief operations to be conducted in a more standardized and scientific way and helping to ensure the conducting of standard, timely and efficient disaster relief operation possible.

The second measure to be taken is to continuous conduct technology innovation. It is another indication that RCSC has broken the tradition. ERU (Emergency Response Unit) is an important tool for the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to carry out the relief and rescue operations. It includes such tools as basic medical ERU, emergent water-supply ERU, emergent communication ERU, public health ERU, base camp ERU, etc. These standard equipments that can be freely combined are mainly provided by the RC societies in developed countries, and are to be allocated by the International Federation. After the outbreak of the devastating earthquake in Wenchuan, China, RCSC, through the International Federation, called for the help of

international communities and the permission for the introduction of ERU was proposed as a special request. Not long after this, ERUs from countries like Spain, Austria, Great Britain, Denmark and Germany were brought to China to be used in setting up field hospital by the German Red Cross society and these temporary hospitals were deployed one after another in the quake-hit region in Sichuan Province, providing services for the needy people there, such as medical care, drinking water security, makeshift toilets and so on. Now, “those ERU equipments were donated to the RCSC free of charge. We sent staff to learn how to use them. While assisting people in the quake-hit region, we learned the technology. We can build up our own relief units in the near future.” This, undoubtedly, facilitated the improvement of RCSC in making its relief work more scientific and modernized and helped to push level of its relief service to a new height.

Fourthly, the disaster relief work must be extended to include providing assistance to the large-scale reconstruction in post-earthquake period. After the “5 • 12” Wenchuan earthquake, participation on a large scale in the post-quake reconstruction projects became the focus of the whole RC system in China. The bulk of the fund for reconstruction were invested into the reconstruction of civilian homes, schools, hospitals, and some of the rehabilitation center, nursing homes, welfare houses, and functions rooms for the villagers. This is a long-term project. Just as President Peng Peiyun concluded, this was “the first time that RCSC displayed the three functions of emergency rescue, disaster relief, and post-disaster assistance at the same time, the first time to receive, manage and use over RMB 15,000,000,000 Yuan worth of donated money and materials; the first time to organize professional medical team and psychological aid team to do the relief work, the first time to coordinate and permit, on a large scale, the foreign rescue and medical teams to provide disaster relief work in China, the first time to organize such a huge size of volunteers to take part in the work, as well as the first time to participate in a

large amount of post-quake reconstruction work”. This disaster provides both a threat and an opportunity. In the course of the process of conducting disaster relief work, “RCSC has expanded its work from pure emergency relief to the integration of emergency relief and post-quake reconstruction assistance, from simply providing living necessities to the combination of that with professional and psychological assistance, from relying only on the internal assistance within China to the combination of national and international assistance, from the simply offering post-quake relief to the combination of that with offering disaster prevention education, improving community disaster prevention capacity and getting involved in emergency response group construction.”

The three typical cases listed above indicate that the RCSC has experienced a transformation in ideal, techniques and working methods, which, in fact, is an embodiment of the overall development of the RCSC. In the process, the working ability, social credibility, influence, reputation and status of RCSC continue to grow, which, in return, enables the RCSC to have access to more social support, and hence a positive circle of its development is formed. From May to December in 2007, the NGO Graduate School of Tsinghua University made a mid-term evaluation of the “*2005 –2009 Work Plan of the Chinese Red Cross*”. The result shows that the beneficiary groups of the RCSC generally speak highly of its work. 80% of them think that the RC society has a good working ability, and 87.6% are generally satisfactory with the RC projects. The sampling survey made all over the country known as “Polls on Public’s Awareness of the RC Major Activities” shows that 82.2% of the beneficiaries and 84.4% of the ordinary people are aware of the operations of the RC projects; meanwhile, 79.6% of the public hope to become the RC volunteers and 89% are willing to donate money and materials to it (Wang Ming, 2007).

In conclusion, the RC society has experienced 3 transformations in its work

patterns, namely, the transformation from the traditional assistance to the combination of assistance with development, the transformation from the single and exclusive assistance to a diversified and open assistance, as well as the transformation from passively receiving donations to actively seeking donations. During the time of 30-year reform and opening up, the service of the RCSC has followed the route of “scale expansion” with the aim to improve the living conditions of the most vulnerable group. Some people generalize it as “two Ps, three Hs, four Rs and Five Ds (two Ps i.e. two parties, refers to rescuer from both mainland and Taiwan; three Hs refers to humanitarian field, humanistic ideas and respect for human rights; four Rs refers to disaster relief, medical care relief, emergency relief and material relief; five Ds refers to donations of materials, blood, BM, organs and bodies). But the RCSC doesn’t seem to be contented with the current achievements, because in each of its “work reports”, the RCSC requires itself to “conduct humanitarian operations and be ready to expand into new field of service”. For example, at the 9th National Convention, the newly-elected President Hua Jianmin of RCSC emphasized that apart from the traditional work, RCSC needed to actively explore new work area in accordance with its ultimate goal. We must grasp the important opportunities for the development of RC cause in China, further strengthen the sense of responsibility and urgency, dedicate ourselves to the continuous innovation of RC cause with Chinese characteristics, and with our passion and perseverance push forward the cause and make new breakthroughs.” The questions following are: why does the RC continue to expand its service sphere? What is the driving mechanism? What impact will the expansion of service sphere bring to its development?

4. Operating Logic in Expanding Humanitarian Sphere

Based on our thesis finding, we can suggest that the RCSC, the assistant of government in the humanitarian field, serves as a bridge connecting the Party

and the government with people. Early in 1964, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Health, the State Organization Commission and headquarter of RCSC co-issued an official document, regulating the issues concerning the personnel quota and finance management of the RCSC. It stated that “the personnel quota of the RC branches at all levels should be included into the local administrative personnel quota, belonging to that of the political parties and people’s organizations; its administrative expenses should be covered by allowances given to political parties and people’s organizations listed under the catalogue of administrative expenses, health service expenses should be listed as sub-items of “health expenses” fund, and a certain amount of allowances will be allocated each year.” The expenses concerning medical education and training are to be listed respectively under the catalogue of “education expenses” and “cadre-training expenses”, whose budgets are to be taken into the overall budget of the local health cause. On Mar. 25, 1995, the State Commission for Public Sector Reform issued the “Notification on Printing and Distributing ‘Reform Proposals of the RCSC Headquarter Institutions’”. It established the standard that the RCSC should have “officially budgeted posts, specially-assigned staff and financial support”. On Nov. 7, 1996, *Provisional Regulations on State Civil Servants* stipulated that the of RC units at all levels should conduct administration by referring to *Provisional Regulations on State Civil Servants*, even though the RCSC is a member unit of those organizations that are “under the leadership of the State Council”, and does not belong to the administrative system of any government departments or any of its internal organizations. The staff of the RCSC headquarter enjoy the same standards of welfare treatment as civil servants do. They are provided with officially budgeted posts, working expenses and paid by the central government. The organization structure and personnel quota of the RC branches at all levels are directly decided by the local organization and personnel departments. Their fund allocations are separately listed and directly appropriated by the financial department of the government and they should establish their own financial

system. The government coordinates, supports, subsidizes, safeguards and supervises their work. As for the ranking identification, its status is the same as other groups at the same level, such as Federation of Trade Unions, Youth Federation, Women Federation, and Association for Science and Technology and so on. By the end of September 2009, 100% of the RC branches' at or above provincial levels have straightened out their management systems; 294 out of 333 RC branches at prefecture level and 1006 out of 2800 RC branches at county level have straighten out their management systems, accounting for 88.28% and 36% respectively, which lays a solid organizational foundation for the development of the RC cause.

The central problem in straightening out the system is that of manning quotas. After working out the budgeted posts and status of the RCSC staff, their basic living conditions have been improved, and their enthusiasm and initiatives in work have been enhanced. At the 5th session of the 8th National Convention in January 2009, President Peng Peiyun made a factual evaluation about the changes brought about by straightening out the system. "This management system has been straightened out, a large number of the RC staff's enthusiasm and all aspects of the work are making new progress."

Theoretically, the organization is changing along with the environment. Studies in western countries have distinguished three driving forces leading to the change of organizations, namely internal pressure, pressure of resources and power of imitation (Sharo M. Oster, 1995). When the organization is on the process of growing, its activities are driven by its mission, and it will transfer the mission to its clients and donators; while the time when the organization becomes mature, especially when it has achieved a large-scale development, bureaucracy will then appear. In general, the organization will become more cost-conscious and the roles of profession staff will also be increased. For example, Perrow and Western's research on the non-profit hospitals shows that

the early existence of those hospitals is dictated by the Board of Directors. By the time they have grown up, medical professional become dominators in decision-making. Jenkins' study on the national council of churches (NCC) in 1960 proves the same point that the growth of organizations creates the pressure for change, which also serves as the impetus stimulating the transformation of the organization.

Likewise, when the problem of organization has been solved, bureaucracy will be brought into existence. The RC society, as a colossal-sized organization boasting of a history of 100 years, is liable to be infected with bureaucracy such as pursuing official positions, economic interest etc., especially when the RC, a government-running non-government organization, has solved its basic surviving problem. The primary reason is that the staff members of the RC society mostly have experience of working as government officials (some are even working as government official when they are working in the RC society), they still have a lot of connections with the government, and it is very easy for them to pull a few strings to get things down. For those who once worked as high-ranking or senior officials, they make a living by taking advantage of those connections. In fact, it is the fatal defect of many social organizations in china that they develop in an "anthropomorphized" way, depending a lot on political connections and nepotistic relationship. The system, the operating mechanism and the operation pattern of the organization rely essentially on the government, taking on a distinctive imprint of bureaucracy. During our research period, we were informed by some staff members that those projects under process can be "either done or undone". According to the "influence activity" theory put forward by Paul Milgrom and John Roberts from Stanford University, staff members in any organization will do a lot by following orders blindly, once there is a superior who are administratively appointed. And this is the inertia of the organization.

However, why does the RCSC is so enthusiastic in expanding its service sphere? What are the factors driving it to continuously expand its working sphere? The western theory of organization transformation stresses the influence of the three aspects such as internal pressure, pressure from resources and power of imitation. They don't seem to be sufficient in explaining the above questions, because the RC society, as a government-run non-government organization, they have been alleviated of the three kinds of pressures. Research finding shows that the expansion of the RC service sphere depends not entirely on the force of pressure, but more importantly on the driving and pulling force.

4.1 Explanation of the RCSC' Operating Logic

The theory of “resources dependence” points out that changes happened to the external resources usually lead to changes in organizational structures. As for non-governmental organizations, the external environment is mainly made up of three elements: economy, society and politics. DiMaggio and Powell argue that many changes can be explained as the result of the pressure of imitation, or the institutional isomorphism. In order to keep itself in line with the laws and regulations the state, it is important for the executives of the RC society to make compromises and adjustments. Thus those laws and regulations generate a suppressing pressure for the RC society to follow. For instance, the regulation “Instructions on Strengthening Blood-transfusion Work” issued by the Ministry of Health and endorsed by the State Council in 1978 states clearly that “the RC society need to actively assist the health departments in mobilization and organization of blood transfusion and non-remunerated blood donation work”. In 1997, “Blood Donation Law of the People’s Republic of China” approved at the 29th session of the 8th Standing Committee of the China’s National People’s Conference stipulates that the RC branches at all levels should participate and promote the work of blood donation in a legal way. Over the past 30 years, the RCSC have made great contributions to the mobilization and promotion of

non-remunerated blood donation, helping to transform China's blood transfusion work from remunerated to non-remunerated blood donation. At present, 95% of the blood used in clinic comes from people's non-remunerated blood donation.

Nevertheless, the theory of resources dependence fails to take two things into consideration: one is the autonomy of non-governmental organizations', and the other is the government's duty. The government's duty comes from its own administrative ideal, which, if agrees with the mission of the non-governmental organizations, will propel the government to actively cooperate with the non-governmental organizations, generating a joint / resultant force. This kind of force is a two-way demand rather than one-way dependence, and thus generates a driving force. China's reform and opening- up policy is dominated by the government. In the process of conducting reforms, every policy is made by the government alone and represents the choice of the government. The development of the non-governmental organizations is under the government's domination as well. Wang Ming and other scholars(2001) state that the reform of China's social organizations has experienced a transformation from governmental selection to social selection (Kang Xiaoguang, Lu Xianying, Han Huan, 2008: 287), which, actually, represents a development pattern dominated by the government, and its purpose is to preserve its own interests.

Under the government's dominance, the service sphere of many NGOs is restricted by the government' policy of "classification control". Even the national NGOs like China Foundation for Poverty Alleviation (CFPA), whose service sphere is confined to poverty alleviation. In this case, without the government's support or acquiescence, it is impossible for the RC society to develop from health care to social relief, not to mention to expand to the sphere of development assistance. From assisting the development of urban to that of the rural areas, from serving the public to serve people from different walks of

life, the RC society is offering service to communities, rural areas, factories, mines, official departments, schools and etc., including the Beijing Olympic Games, the Paralympics Games, and the Shanghai World Expo. Its service has covered every field. And the RC society co-issued documents respectively with the department of public security, transportation, safety supervision, coal mines, civil aviation, tourism, railways and so on, to provide policy support for health care training.

First of all, the driving force that the government has for the RC society comes from the agreement of the government's administrative ideal with humanitarianism.

“Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Problems Concerning Socialist Market Economy System” approved by the 3rd session of the 16th Central Committee of the CPC proposes the administrative ideal as “adhering to the people-oriented principle, and establishing a comprehensive, coordinate and sustainable development, and to promote the all-round development of people and society.” This is the first time in the CPC documents bringing forth the “people-oriented” principle. The idea of “people-oriented” mainly aims at addressing three problems. They are: the fundamental purpose, administrative principles and the administrative objectives of the CPC from the perspective of promoting the socialist development with Chinese characteristics. “Working for the public and exercises power for the people” is a scientific summarization of the government's administrative ideal. The primary and basic requirement is to respect and cherish people's rights, abilities, honor, human dignity and more importantly people's lives, which means to respect people's will, care for their sufferings, protect their legitimate rights and human dignity, as well as provide necessary conditions to help them fully display their talents and develop in a free and all-round way. What's more, people's advocacy, approval, consent and satisfaction should be used as the standard in evaluating all kinds of work.

The love for the people and a high sense of responsibility should be adopted in vigorously resolving difficulties and problems in people's lives. Comprehended in this way, the "people-oriented" notion of the ideal of upholding scientific development inherits the traditional humanistic spirit in western society. The RC society's appeal of humanitarian can be subdivide into two aspects: one is the care for people and the other is the respect for people's fundamental rights. Both the propose and the final objective of the RC is to serve the people wholeheartedly, to provide services to those who are in great need of care and assistance, to make every effort to satisfy the humanitarian requirements of the most vulnerable groups and improve their conditions. Hence the mission of the RC society and the administrative purpose of the Party and the government are identical. Therefore, the expansion of the RC service sphere conforms to the government's will, and is in accordance with the government pursuit of its own interests.

Secondly, the environment of policies and systems directly decides the development level and pattern of the RC society.

The development of the NGOs in China, part of the global "Revolution of Association", is under the government's domination (Wang Ming, 2001; Wang Shaoguang, 2007; Kang Xiaoguang, 2008). According to some scholar's research, attitudes and strategies that the Chinese government holds towards the non-governmental organizations vary from one to another, due to their different attributes. Control and development are the two major administrative strategies. On one hand, the government adopts "classification control" in managing non-governmental organizations to avoid the occurrence of any civil organizations being independent from the government's control, so that social stability can be maintained; on the other hand, the government adopts diversified development strategies, taking advantage of various kinds of non-governmental organizations to satisfy the various kinds of social demands.

Generally speaking, the government's attitude towards the RC society helps to create a favorable environment of policies and systems.

It is mainly shown in the following two aspects: (1) the government, by legislation, determines the way of the founding of the RC society. The “Red Cross Law of the People's Republic of China” is a specialized law to standardize the administration of all social organizations. The Law, with 28 articles in 6 chapters, re-regulates the final objective and the nature of the RC society from the perspective of humanitarian relief, serving as a legislative authority. Meanwhile, it confirms in the legislative way some of the vital issues as institutions and personnel quota, properties and funds, powers and duties, independent work and etc., providing a legislative guarantee for the better existence and development of the RC society. The local governments at all levels formulate “Measures for Implementation” according to this law, and local people's congresses at all levels regularly inspect and investigate the law enforcement, supervising the implementation of the “Red Cross Law”. The government's support and protection for the RC society and the active cooperation that the RC society has for the government provide favorable environment for policies and systems. The “Red Cross Law” confirms the RC society's outstanding status in competing for budgeted posts and funds and in disaster relief and its advantages in soliciting donations and contributions because the RC society is authorized by the law to possess the qualification. All these play an important role for the RC society in performing its duties. (2) The governance structure under the government's dominance decides the development pattern of the RC society. The legislative identity of the RC society is the social group exempt from registration. Its major executives, of different administrative rankings, are recommended by the Party and the government and then elected by the membership representative conferences. Its decisions and policies need to report to the superior government departments for examination and approval, and the government constantly intervenes,

instructs or even directly asks the organization to make decisions. Its work place is given by the government and nearly 30% (income at the provincial level) to 48% (income of the headquarters) of the activity funds come from the government. The staff members get their salaries and welfares from the government, and are under the administration as the state civil servants. Thus, the development pattern of the RC society follows that of “quasi-administration”. Its operation is a kind of mobilized promotion of “quasi-administration”.

Thirdly, abilities and desires are the force affecting the government to support the development of the RCSC.

Disaster relief is government’s responsibility. Because disasters frequently occurred in China, the relief work becomes rather huge, and often beyond government’s actual relief capacity. In this case, it provides huge space for social relief associations like the RC society to carry out relief activities. The RCSC is identified as the “assistant of the government in the humanitarian field”. This identification is rather explicit. As long as there are huge disasters, the RC society all take part in the relief work. The former president of the RCSC headquarters Wang Lizhong introduced some of the features of RC relief activities. Number one is that the RCSC can accept and solicit donations according to the “Red Cross Law” after natural disasters happened. This is the regulations of the law and the international practice as well. Number two is that the RCSC can independently dispose the donated money and materials. The RC society is not a government department, so it owns independent decision-making rights with those donations. An important point concerning independent disposal is to respect donators’ desires. Number three is that principles for the relief work are “fairness, impartiality, neutrality”. Number four is that the relief activities conducted by the RC society serve as a supplement to the government relief activities. Moreover, it cannot replace

government functions. Number five is to carry out the disaster and emergency relief work abiding by the “Red Cross and Red Crescent Principles and Articles on Disaster Relief” co-formulated by the “Red Cross Law” and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Number six is that the RC society has already set up a network of disaster preparedness. The RCSC headquarters has 6 regional DP centers, located respectively in Shenyang, Xi’an, Chengdu, Hangzhou, Xiaogan and Guangzhou. There are 14 provincial DP centers and 31 prefecture/county DP centers or warehouses. The pulling force from desires for social development together with its own desires for disaster relief and capacities of the RC society, of course, can win over the government’s trust and support.

Fourthly, the government’s “pulling force” manifests in its demands.

The government helps to promote the development of the RC society because it is not only the government’s “assistant” that actively participates in public health service, medical assistance, the new type of rural cooperative medical care system, the mutual aid fund for children in hospitals and etc.; but also the important “policy tool” for the government to provide public services. What’s more important, the government vigorously promotes the development of the RC cause because the RC society has special functions, especially in some of the sensitive fields like human organ donation. It is not convenient for the government to do the job because it is highly sensitive, complicated, and involves a wide range, requires a lot of meticulous and deep-going preparation beforehand. The human organ donation work is not only the foundation of the national organ donation system, but also the key to decide whether the Chinese human organ transplantation cause can healthily develop or not. In order to avoid the possible buying and selling or disguised buying and selling of human organs, the RC society carries forth the human donation work with the government’s commission, not only conforming to the final objective of the RC

society and the humanitarian spirit but also satisfying people's demands on medical and health care. The human organ donation work conducted by RCSC only confined to non-living and non-related organ donations. For example, in 2007, secretary of Guizhou Party Committee commented on a document entitled "many organizations of overseas with military and religious background paying attention to endemic groups in Guizhou province", "the Guizhou province needs to expand its working sphere, fortify its working functions, enlarge its working coverage and enhance its working influence and effectiveness. Governments at different levels should understand and support the work of RC society, and help them to create necessary working conditions", which shows that the government is in need of the RC society.

Anyhow, the government needs the RCSC to continue to expand its service sphere. The RC society has already become an important force in improving people's wellbeing and promoting harmony. Just as Vice President Hui Liangyu who is in charge of contacting the RC society said in the 9th Convention, the significance for the government to vigorously develop the RC cause lies in that the RC society "contributes to mobilize social power, assemble resources from all sides and solve the problems of people with special difficulties; contributes to build up a favorable atmosphere of solidarity and mutual assistance and a harmonious interpersonal environment of equality and friendship, promoting the socialist ideological and ethical progress; contributes to display in the international community a humanitarian image of China and enhance our appetency, attraction and infectivity, and finally contributes to build up a harmonious world of lasting peace and common prosperity". It is also owing to the government's demands and vigorous push that the RCSC is taking on a very distinctive "governmental color" in China.

4.2 The Explanation of RCSC' Operation Logic

As a non-profit organization with an independent legal entity, the RC society receives powerful support from the government, but it is not the government after all, which means that it has neither the government's administrative power, nor the economic power of the profit-oriented organizations. President Peng Peiyun said in the 6th council, “gain the position through achievements and secure the position with more”, in order to gain a relatively high social position, the RC society needs to work hard, make tangible achievements and then get trust from the government and the society. Only by doing so can the RC society create a much brighter future. The social position and the achievements of the RC society should facilitate each other, through which it can then follow a virtuous circle for development.

The question is how to “make achievements”. This means that RCSC, as a charity organization, “must carry out work in accordance with the operating pattern of social organizations”, must “actively integrate social resources, mobilize the extensive social participations, strengthen the cooperation with other charity organizations, cultural enterprises and etc., and widely make use of opportunities, power and intelligence”. In October 2004, while celebrating its 100th anniversary, the RCSC held its 8th membership representative conference in Beijing. “The Strategy Work Plan 2000 – 2004 of the RCSC” approved at this conference explicitly regulates its guiding principles for work, that is, to “keep mobilizing social power, make reasonable use of social resources, and form a socialized and open working structure in which the whole society take part in the RCSC enterprise together”. Its aim is to develop the RCSC into “a social relief group full of vigor and vitality, closely connected with the general public, boasting its own characteristics and conducting humanitarian work”. Therefore, if the RCSC wants to make achievements, it has to rebuild organizational structure. The following part will analyze it from its internal

structure.

First of all, it has to make “identification”, that is, to identify its serving targets.

The Red Cross Law stipulates that RCSC is “the social relief organization conducting humanitarian work”. This is the “definition”; but the humanitarian work is a pan-socialized concept and the dimension of social relief is rather extensive. The RCSC cannot undertake all the social relief tasks. The strategy of “core-competence” emphasizes that an organization must focus on what it does the best. The success of this strategy lies in whether the organization can scientifically identify its core working ability. An identification of “huge and comprehensive” functions can neither effectively fulfill social demands, nor can they conform to the scientific development pattern of the social organization its own, and will inevitably reduce the sustainable development capacity of the RC organization. In that way, what activities on earth should become the serving targets of the RCSC? Proceeding from the RCSC’s history of foundation and development and the present development situations of the social organizations in China, disaster relief and health care are undoubtedly the “unique features” and “strong points” of the RCSC. But what are the differences between those activities undertaken by the RCSC and by other organizations like “the Hope Project” and “the Poverty Alleviation Fund”? According to social division of labor and its unique characteristics, the RCSC “identifies” its work on “improving the conditions of the most vulnerable group”, making “protect people’s lives and health” its major task.

Secondly, it has to straighten out “relations”, mainly the relation with government. The *Red Cross Law* stipulates that the government is the subject in implementing the RC Law while the RCSC is the social organization performing its duties in accordance with the Law. Since the RCSC is the government’s assistant in conducting humanitarian work and its work relates to many functional departments of the government, it must closely coordinate with

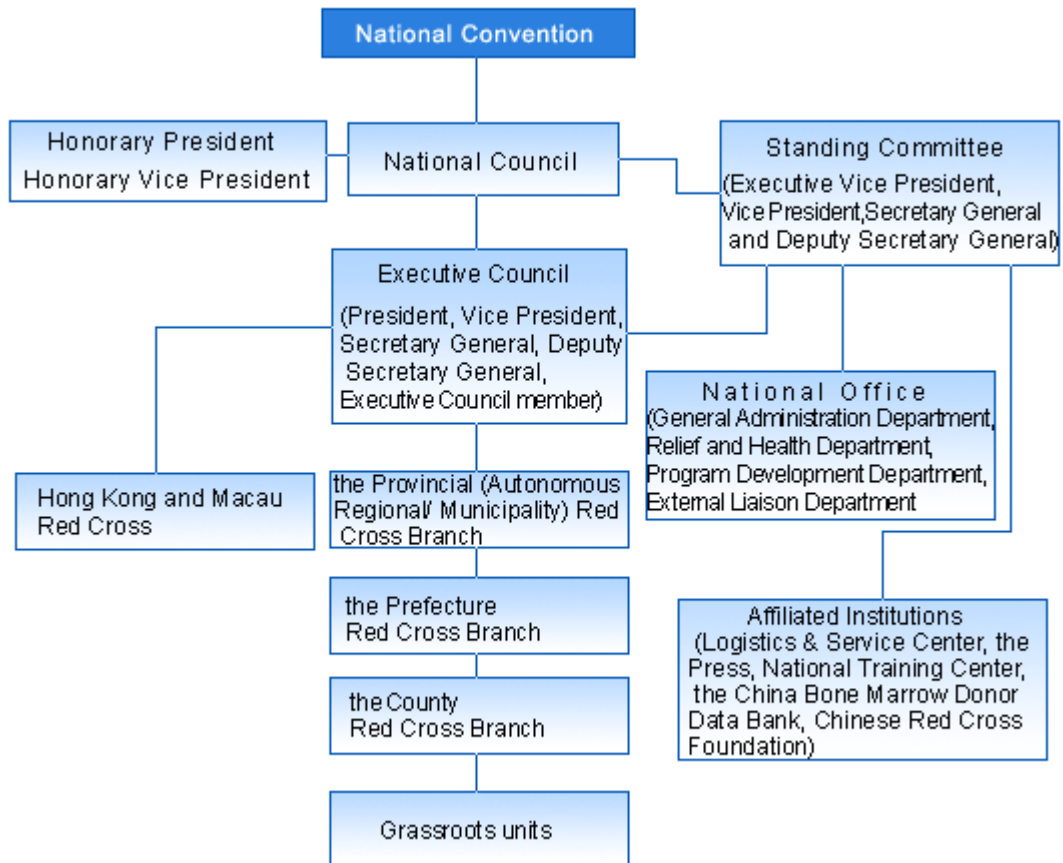
the government and obtain the government's support and subsidies in order to develop, which can be divided into two parts: 1) the government "supports and subsidizes" and "safeguards and supervises" the RCSC; 2) the RCSC "assists" the government to conduct humanitarian activities. In this sense, the RCSC is closely connected to the government, and is the substitution of "part of" the government's functions. It helps the government to deal with troubles and difficulties, and is the "assistant" rather than the "rival". Therefore, the situation of social organization confronting against the government in western society will never happen in China.

In order to do a good job as an "assistant", the RCSC must reorganize its management structure and turn its serving targets to society. I find out in my research findings about the transformations of its management structure that RCSC took on a more obvious feature of government before the 8th National Convention of RCSC. There are mainly three demonstrations. They are: (1) the president of the RCSC held plural posts in the government, for example the president of Hubei RC branch was at the same time the vice governor of Hubei Province, and the actual people in charge (including the executive vice president and secretary general) were recommended by the government, made known at the Convention or the executive council and assessed in accordance with administrative regulations on government cadres; (2) the major decision-making authority did not lie in the national council or the National Convention. It was the government leaders who had the final say. The National Convention or the national council just had to notify or discuss the implementation; (3) council members were mainly from the government functional departments. There were honorary council members who helped the organization activities with money and abilities.

After the 8th National Convention, although keeping the basic form, the RCSC has some new changes, mainly represented in the following aspects: (1) the

transformation of its serving targets. In the past, the RCSC only served the government. As the actual executive of government's functions, it accepted the government's administrative instructions, tasks and personnel arrangements, and its performances were appraised by the government. In other words, "it was the government that issues assignments, provides money and evaluates the work" in the past. But now the RCSC has to serve not only the government, but, more importantly, to serve the society. And by serving "the most vulnerable group", it helps the government to solve problems and maintain social stability.

(2) The 2nd change is that it reorganizes the management structure, adding some institutions and specialized working committees for the market and the society. For example, in face with the increasingly competitive charity market in China and in order to reinforce the fund-raising work, the RCSC headquarter set up a fund-raising unit after the 8th National Convention, reorganized and enriched the Chinese Red Cross Foundation. It set up a project office, helping to improve overseas fund-raising work and strengthen the power to exclusively conduct the fund-raising work. Meanwhile, the open fund-raising strategy of "inviting inside and going outside" was adopted. The RC society built up the RCSC Fund-raising Commission and Donation Enterprises Sodality in succession, signed strategic cooperative partnership agreements with large enterprises, set up regular meeting system with large enterprises, private enterprises and transnational corporations, and maintain stable relationship with some benevolent enterprises and institutions on charity cooperation. The RC branches at all levels work actively by making full use of social resources, extending working dimension, setting up cooperative fund-raising institutions together with social forces through programs in order to expand the fund-raising channels.



Source: http://www.redcross.org.cn/ywzd/ywzd_Aboutus/ywzd_zzjg/

(3) The third change is that the council members become more diversified and professional. Take the 9th Council for example. There are altogether 194 candidates for the 9th Council, among whom 121 are from the headquarter, the RC branches at provincial level, the RC branch of Xinjiang Army Production Corps, Hong Kong and Macau RC branches and the RC industry branches; 73 are from the state departments and commissions, social organizations, enterprises and institutions, and some are celebrities. In them, 15 are candidates of minority ethnic groups, taking up 7.7%; 65 are female candidates, counting for 33.5%. They are 52 years old in average, and 100% of them receive education of junior college or above.

Adding the special committee in particular is in order to break the restrictions of the traditional personnel system. To “borrow intelligence” aims to develop

influential service programs by making full use of social elites' intelligence. From the above diagram, we can see that the RCSC council structure has changed. Six special committees are set up, but without the decision-making rights, and are mainly responsible for investigations and studies on certain special matters and for drawing up proposals to be used as evidences for the council to make decisions. It helps to make the RC society more professional.

(4) The fourth change is its management becomes more transparent. After the 8th National Convention of RCSC, it carries out external financial audits every year and accepts the financial audits of the state institutions. Because of the strict audit system, the standard management of the RC society is guaranteed and its executive capacity is obviously enhanced. Meanwhile the RC society even makes its bad financial records known to the public. Moreover, the re-construction project that the RC society participated after the Wenchuan devastating earth-quake. The state auditing administration and local auditing departments set up successively 1289 auditing groups and sent altogether 4549 staff members to make the follow-up auditing and auditing survey on 6960 after-quake recovery and reconstruction programs of a total planned investment of 26.0072 billion RMB. The auditing results show that the after-quake recovery and reconstruction project was generally going on well, and the use of recovery and reconstruction fund was generally standard. However, the use of 230 million RMB still violated the regulation, but was not in the charge of the RC society.

Thirdly, the RC society cooperates with social forces since “cooperation” is humanism.

Many “famous” charity brands well-known to the public are the cooperative outcomes of RCSC and social forces, such as Li Chunping Philanthropy Foundation, Jet Li One Foundation, China Merchants Securities Philanthropy Foundation, Olympic Torchbearer Foundation, Red Cross Dissemination

Foundation, Loving Enterprises Association, Heart Sunshine Project and etc. On Dec. 8, 2006, RCSC together with the famous movie-star Jet Li set up One Foundation. On May 8, 2007, the China Red Cross Loving Enterprises Association was founded. The Association was a membership charity organization initiated by RCSC. The enterprises can voluntarily participate in it. The RC branches at all levels and social forces “make joint efforts and interact with each other, forming a resultant force”, leading to an all-round dissemination situation that the mass media of TV, radio, newspaper and magazines, outdoor medium, cell-phone and the Internet make reports together. The RC society widely mobilizes and makes full use of social resources, striving for the broad participation of all social sectors: fighting for support from the Party committee, the government and certain related departments, actively competing for and making every effort to finish programs entrusted by the government; vigorously carrying out programs with enterprises and institutions; strengthening the contact and cooperation with other social organizations; attaching great importance to communications with social celebrities, volunteers, donator and beneficiaries. The RC branches alone have founded over 270 foundations. The fund source of the RC society has already transformed from depending on government subsidies and overseas donations to domestic donations from enterprises, the public and society in China. The proportion of domestic donations has increased rapidly in particular; the domestic donation in 2007 has grown by about 12 times compared with that in 2000.

Fourthly, the width/scope and depth of social participation keeps expanding, and its service function keeps strengthening.

The major manifestations include the continuous expansion of the RC volunteer group and its service dimension and the increasingly standardized and professionalized voluntary service management. Voluntary service is one of the

seven fundamental principles of the International RC Movement, the specific representation of the RC spirit and an important way that the RC society conducts the humanitarian work. The RC volunteers are important human resources for the RC organizations of each country and the mass foundation of the RC cause. The major evidences to evaluate the width of social participation are the number of volunteers and voluntary service dimensions; those to evaluate the depth are the professional degree and unique characteristics of the service. Simply speaking, the RCSC voluntary service follows the following three trends: the first is to develop in the institutional direction. Ever since its foundation, the RCSC carried out a lot of voluntary services in different periods of time. In the middle of 1990s, the RCSC branches in Shanghai, Beijing, Shangdong, Jiangshu and etc. successively set up voluntary work institutions and carried out some voluntary activities. The headquarters concluded and popularized this action immediately. In September 1997, the headquarters distributed to the RC branches “Notification on Further Organizing Volunteer to Carry out Activities”, and set up “Chinese Red Cross Volunteer Directing/Advisory Committee”. In September 2005, in accordance with the development of the RC voluntary work, the Chinese Red Cross Volunteer Directing/Advisory Committee was reorganized as the Voluntary Service Committee of the RCSC. It incorporates in succession some related departments and commissions of education, health and Communist Youth League, etc., social organizations, experts, scholars and so on, enhancing the research and the guidance for voluntary work. At present, 14 RCSC provincial branches, 4 cities specifically designated in the state plan and 118 prefecture branches have set up voluntary service work committees.

The second is that the voluntary service is developing in socialized direction. Socialization means that the number of the RC volunteers is increasing day by day, and their services spread into all fields in society. Before 1985, the voluntary services of the RC society mainly depended on its staff members. In

1990, a large number (with no exact number) of volunteers who are enthusiastic about the RC cause appeared. According to the first statistics in 1994, there were more than 400 thousand RC volunteers. By the end of June 2007, there were altogether 846 thousand RC volunteers all over the country, an increase of 112% over 2004 before the 8th National Convention was held. The volunteers are from different ethnic groups and professions and are of different cultural levels and age groups, growing into an important force that cannot be ignored in the voluntary service work in China. By 2009, the RC volunteers in China have reached 1.53 million. And the mobilization of humanitarian forces and the development of “Red Cross Voluntary Service Activity” have been included as “the Seven Great Activities” into “The Strategy Work Plan 2000 – 2004 of the Red Cross Cause”.

From April 4 to July 4 in 2007, the President Peng Peiyun and the Executive Vice President Jiang Yiman respectively made questionnaire survey on “the present organizing situation of the RC volunteers in China and related questions”. The survey shows, “the Red Cross voluntary service activities conducted by volunteers” ranking at the first five places are the promotion of non-remunerated blood donation (83.5%), the dissemination of AIDS/HIV prevention (72%), the primary health care training (71%), disaster relief and assistance (67%) and hemopoietic stem cell donations (59%), which makes clear that the social recognition to the RC voluntary services mainly reflects in the fields of professional RC services since the RC branches at all levels all pay special attention to the RC unique characteristics in the course of conducting voluntary services. It proves that the RC voluntary services have gradually changed to choose and conduct projects that can meet the actual social demands and can bring about actual social benefits, and by doing so, to attract volunteers and maintain their enthusiasm and interests for long-term voluntary services.

The third is that projects of voluntary services become more specialized and the

management teams of voluntary services become more professional. Before 2007, the RC voluntary service in China could be summarized by “3-withouts”, namely, without planning, specification and scale. After 2007, the RC society regularly studies the voluntary work, formulates development plans, implements standardized management and provides services for volunteers. The RC voluntary service has transformed step by step from spontaneous organizing and decentralized management to specific organizing and planning, which mainly manifests in the following two aspects: (1) to adopt registration system for RC volunteers. There are “five unifications” for voluntary service, that is, to unify logos, certificates, uniforms, training materials and awarding standards. The RC voluntary cause becomes all the more systematic and integrated. (2) To build up voluntary service teams in accordance with professional work fields and social service fields. The RC society combines the RC voluntary service together with the RC professional work. It helps to make the RC voluntary work more vigorous and professional, to improve its service level and to set up voluntary service brands with distinct RC characteristics. For example, Armed Police General Hospital of Hubei Province and the RCSC headquarters co-initiated the activity of “Poverty Alleviation and Heart Rescue – Red Cross is working”. The activity helps heart patients in poor areas to resume health through reducing and exempting the medical expenses and by means of heart surgeries and treatment with internal medical department.

In conclusion, the voluntary service organizations have grown from of mixed structures, blurred levels and obscure responsibilities at the very beginning to of systematic labor division, clear-cut levels and explicit responsibilities; the role that the RC volunteer service plays is changing from direct guidance and control to indirect promotion and active support. In other words, the autonomy and flexibility of RC volunteer services are increasingly strengthened under government’s positive encouragement; RC volunteers in China are of different ethnic groups, professions, cultural levels and age groups and the volunteer

services become more and more socialized and professional; the RC volunteer service management, depending on functions of local “RC volunteer service work committees”, promotes these social resources to transit to the RC volunteer service organizations, which helps to realize the RC society’s socialized transformation and the integration of social resources. As its dimension keeps expanding, the voluntary service becomes more and more professional. The RC society not only plays a special role in communicating with public opinions, solving social problems and maintaining social stability; meanwhile, the RC volunteer spirit is disseminated in a more extensive way, which lays a solid foundation for the development of the RC Movement and the RC cause.

Fifthly, origins of resources become diversified and ways of fund-raising become socialized.

For a charity organization, fund-raising is its basic task. It is the same with both the RCSC and the RC societies of other countries. The core of a good fund operating mechanism lies in how to raise money and how to make good use of money. While striving for government’s support, the RC society should pay special attention to the origin of charity donations. To improve the credibility and charisma of the RC society, to expand the fund-raising channels, to explore donations or cooperative means appropriate to demands of different donators and to encourage socialized and professional service organizations to assist the fund-raising work have already transformed from simply relying on the government’s support and subsidies to the society. “The Red Cross Law of the People’s Republic of China” explicitly stipulates that the RC society’s funds are mainly from membership fees, donations, income from movable and immovable properties, the government’s allocation of funds and etc. In terms of its practical operation, the major origin can be divided into two parts: one from society, including membership fees, donations from institutions and individuals

of home and abroad; the other from the government, including financial budget funds and extra-budget program funds like lottery charity fund. Take the statistics from 2006 – 2007 for example, the government’s allocation of funds only accounts for 46% to 48% of the total income, and about 52% to 54% of the RC society’s income is from social donations. In last chapter, we specifically analyze the changes in fund-raising methods. Anyhow, by a series of socialized operating methods and by extensively integrating all kinds of social resources, the origins of the RC society funds have already transformed from depending mostly on government subsidies and overseas donations to domestic donations from enterprises, the public and society in China. The proportion of domestic donations has increased rapidly in particular; the domestic donation in 2007 has grown by about 12 times compared with that in 2000.

Sixthly, the management of the RCSC’ staff members is changing from everyday management to mission motivation.

The staff members of the RCSC are the important forces and resources for the development of the RC cause. In 2007, Wang Ming and other experts made a sampling questionnaire survey on the staff members of the RC society all over the country. The statistics of the survey shows that, (1) staff members of the RC branches at all levels speak highly of the spiritual value of their work. The ratio in agreeing with the opinions of “the RCSC values are close to personal values”, “the RC work is creative” and “the RCSC work can provide a sense of satisfaction” is 95%. They are identified with the mission of the RCSC. The degree of satisfaction of the leaders and the ordinary staff members have for their work are respectively 80.5% and 74.2%. (2) The ratio of the RC society’s distinct achievement in upholding values and in optimizing its structure lies between 80% to 90%, and that of mobilizing social resources, training and taking advantage of volunteers is about 60% to 70%. (3) The social influence of the RCSC’ work keeps increasing. The staff members regarding that the RC

society has a very good or a relatively good reputation account for 50%, and regarding that the RCSC has a very good “charity image” take up 80%. It is thus clear that the expansion of the RCSC’ service sphere is driven by its mission, and cannot be achieved without the efforts made by its staff members.

At present, the total number of the RCSC personnel quota is 7143, with an average number of 5.5 among every million people. It has 6176 full-time staff members, accounting for 86.5% of the total personnel quota; and 9716 part-time staff members. Moreover, the ratio between the full-time and part-time members is 0.6. Quoting their words, the staff of the RCSC is an emergency relief group that will “come upon calling, fight after arriving and succeed once combating”.

To sum up, we find out that the present development of the RC society is obviously different from its previous single dependence on the government’s promotion; instead, it begins to explore by its own a developing path. Its council management structure was reorganized, the resource origins became diversified, the service dimension was expanded, and the organization began to pay more attention to the extensive social participation. In this way, a “socialized and open” working pattern has built up. And it started to take on more and more structural, behavioral and functional features mentioned in western documents. The development of the RCSC is experiencing a transformation from administration to “socialization and professionalization”. This “transformation” involves two processes, one is from the western to the Chinese, and the other is from the traditional to the modern. The expansion of the RCSC gave expression to these two processes. This transformation, to some extent, can be regarded as hybridization.

5. Conclusion

Just as the development of the RC societies in Islamic countries finally leads to

“the Red Crescent Societies”, the RC societies’ development in different societies all follow their own developing logic. It is impractical to discuss the RC societies’ universality and neutrality without taking these kinds of logic into consideration. In China, a country with distinct Chinese characteristics, reforms must be undertaken with the necessary concentration of power to the central government, and the development relies on the government’s support so that social and economic reforms can be pushed forward. In this case, the development of the RC society cannot be separated from reality’s restriction and the inertia of the traditional culture, especially the political and legislative environments in China. Just as the Vice President Wang Lizhong emphasized, when summarizing the RCSC’ experience, “the Chinese RC cause is an integral part of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and a part of the International Red Cross Movement as well. Therefore, we abide by the fundamental principles of the International RC Movement and combine them with Chinese realities to develop the RC cause creatively in China”. As a result, the development of the RC society in China takes on distinct Chinese characteristics in fields of administrative system, behavioral features, resource mobilization, and social functions and so on.

Judging from a historical perspective, the traditional Chinese society was a “bureaucracy” dominated by scholar-bureaucrats and eventually developed into a great administration-oriented empire. Its cultural orientation is a universal “social—political” order (B. Schwartz, 1987, P. 2). Politics plays an extremely important role. Xu Fuguan points out that since Qin Dynasty (221 B.C.-207B.C.) and Han Dynasty (202B.C.-9A.D.), the Chinese political structure has always been actually a dictatorial system. “There is not any social force that can put on a fight or revolt against the dictatorial forces reasonably and directly (Xu Fuguan, 1978:134). As a result, many scholars think that China, to a large degree, is a “society governed by bureaucrats”.

Things are the same in today's China. The reform on market economy system, the transformation of government's functions and the continuous disintegration of the previous "unit system" lead to a series of new social problems, for example, in the protection of rights of the disadvantaged group and the most vulnerable group, the government can only satisfy selectively part of the social demands and "new social organizations" are needed to participate in social services. As the social organization that the government trusts most, the RC society, of course, gains a lot of government's active support. Just as the President Hua Jianmin said, the RC society has three advantages, (1) the first is political advantage, because the Party and the government attach great importance to the organization; (2) the second is legal guarantee for the RC cause that is the Red Cross Law of the People's Republic of China promulgated in 1993; (3) the third refers to intangible assets, for the RC brand is highly recognized by the domestic and international societies. This shows that the service provided by the RC society is actually an extension of government's certain functions and a kind of functional substitution. Under this kind of circumstance, the RC society will not only survive but also continue to grow.

The substitution, however, does not always work, mainly because the RC society is not government after all. As a non-governmental organization in nature, the RC society has to follow the operating principle of social organizations. Only by doing so can it continue its history of over 100 years, which means that the RC society needs another "transformation", the transformation of both its task and organizational system. The essence is on one hand to change the management system formed under the socialist planning system and on the other hand to actively draw on the experience of western non-governmental organizations.

Just as President Hua Jianmin emphasized: in the new era, the RCSC should "learn and absorb the advanced idea and experience from other countries,

should begin with a study on RCSC, conduct researches on how to operate the social organization and non-enterprise organizations in the civil society of China”, and should “combine the principles of the International Red Cross Movement together with Chinese fine traditional culture and socialist core values with Chinese characteristics”, and appropriately handle the relationship between adhering to the seven RC fundamental principles and sticking to the Party’s leadership.

Judging from the perspective of development practice, we can find that social organizations have not broken away from the Party’s leadership after 30 year’s reform and opening up,—many of them, especially those which are playing a leading role, have set up party branches within its inner structure, neither have they separated themselves from the Party’s control. The RCSC possesses unique feature, that is, although the policy formulates that “Party and government cadres are not allowed to hold plural offices in social organizations”, the Party Central Committee, the State Council, the Ministry of Civil Affairs issued four documents respectively in 1994 and 1998: a) “Notification of General Office of the State Council on Department Leaders not Holding Plural Offices in Social Organizations” (GOSC [1994] No. 59); b) “Notification of the Ministry of Civil Affairs Explaining Related Issues Concerning ‘Notification on Department Leaders not Holding Plural Offices in Social Organizations’” (MCA [1994] No. 127); c) “Notification of General Office of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on Party and Government Leaders not Holding Plural Offices in Social Organizations” (GOCPCCC [1998] No. 17); d) “Explanation of Related Issues Concerning ‘Notification of General Office of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on Party and Government Leaders not Holding Plural Offices in Social Organizations’” (MCA [1998] No. 224). But presidents of the RCSC, from the headquarters to local branches, also hold offices as major cadres of the Party and the government. For example, President of the RCSC headquarters Hua Jianmin is the vice chairman of the standing

committee of NPC, and President of the RC branch of Hubei Province is at the same time the vice governor of Hubei Province. The situations are the same in other RC branches: Party and government leaders hold plural offices as presidents of the RC society, and meanwhile an executive vice president is elected to deal with daily routine. 4) The functions and objectives of social organizations are the same or similar in spite of the diversified control strategies. They do not challenge the authority of the government. Instead, by providing social services and solving social problems, they help to maintain social stability and further strengthen the government's authority. Therefore, the "Chinese characteristics" of the RC society is tinted with strong "government color". The RC society is the "assistant" rather than the "rival" of the government, helping to do the special work that is inconvenient for the government to do itself.

In addition, people begin to worry about the consequences brought about by the RC society's continuous expansion of its service spheres. Where on earth lays its core competence? During my interviews, I heard many people doubting how the RC society can confirm its "strong points", i.e. the core competence, in the process of continuous expansion. In fact, the core competence of the RC society lies not in its "expansion" but in its special services, that is, to conduct emergency relief and follow a professional road.

Chapter 8: “China Style” Voluntaries

1. Introduction

The Red Cross is an institution providing voluntary assistance. According to analyses of Jean Pictet(1979), they have a right to it because they do not work only to earn a living, but have mainly dedicated themselves to an altruistic calling which may entail certain sacrifices. As for voluntary service, it means actors behave with completely voluntary motivations, not to seek any economic and material rewards, but to voluntarily contribute their own time, energy, knowledge, skills and finance, or any of their own available resources, serving those people in difficulty and crisis.

The term "voluntary service" is often associated with such notions as "volunteers", "voluntary action", "voluntary spirit", volunteer organizations". The word "volunteer" comes from the Latin word "voluntas", which means "will". This kind of will is the free will rather than the forced ones.

Voluntary service, as a kind of social action, includes two levels: the first is will, and the second is capability. The action with will but no capability is just a potential volunteer activity; on the contrary, with ability but no will, the forced action is not true voluntary service either. In the Red Cross world, the concept of “Voluntary service” refers to persons who work without being paid and who donate their services. It has five basic characteristics (Pictet, 1979): (1) free will; (2) Unpaid service. “Voluntary service” refers to someone who works of his/her own free will, without external compulsion- and not necessarily one who is not paid; (3)charity; (4) selflessness, Charity and self-denial are inseparable. (5) Spirit of service. The important thing is that the work carried out for the Red Cross shall be voluntary. Whether it is paid for or not is a secondary consideration. With regard to unselfishness and voluntary action, we find that

these are closely related to the principle of humanity.

Voluntary service is the outcome of human civilization developing to a certain stage, and it has become an embodiment of social civilization and progress. China has the traditional virtues of supporting the poor and helping others all the time. In ancient times, thinkers advocated the ideas of “extending the respect for the elderly in one’s family to those of other families and extending the love of the young ones in one’s family to that of other families as well” and “People with perfect virtue have universal love”. In 1960s, the activity of learning from Lei Feng was carried out among the whole nation. Such examples are endless. But this is not enough to summarize the whole picture of voluntary service. The core of voluntary service lies in the spirit of volunteerism. Then what is the soul of voluntary service? Voluntary spirit is to voluntarily attend and promote the social progress and community development, not for a reward of such actions⁶⁰. The spirit of voluntary service is the spirit of service. That is, translating good will into action. In a word, voluntary service is the action, the volunteer is the subject, and the voluntary spirit is the connotation. All of these are closely related.

Voluntary organization is more complex. Kramer (refer to Osborne, 1998:12), a Western scholar, has pointed out the difference between associations and voluntary agencies, pointing out that the former one mainly refers to an informal organization and often relies on members to carry out activities; while the latter one, which has increasingly developed to professionalization with the deepening of social division of labor, is more formal and hierarchy and hiring paid staff to provide ongoing services to society.

It can be seen from the development of the Red Cross Movement that the concept of voluntary service in the Red Cross was born with the movement itself, more than a century ago. At the very inception, it was created by Henry

⁶⁰ Annual Report of the Hong Kong Agency for Volunteer Service, 1996:3.

Dunant at Solferino. When he was confronted with enormous wounded people who were left untreated because of the shortage of doctors, he tried to seek help from residents and tourists in the nearby Castiglione. “Tutti fratelli !” (All of them are brothers) Henry Dunant himself remarked in his book, *A Memory of Solferino*, in 1862. But, the deal that “Establish relief organizations containing enthusiastic, loyal and completely qualified volunteers, to care for the wounded soldiers in the war”, did not seem possible except through gathering help from many people of good will. In 1863, the sixth resolution of Geneva International Conference realized Dunant's ideal. “International Humanitarian Law” decided to place the voluntary medical personnel “under the jurisdiction of the military command, and share the same treatment as military medical personnel”, which comes from the ideal of the Red Cross and continues to stimulate its development.

In reality, there is no possible doubt, Principle of volunteer service, is set forth in the Proclamation of 1965, whose fundamental character is obvious. The Red Cross world was determined at that time to provide itself with a true charter, as the fruit of a century of experience and the lasting basis for its future activity⁶¹. They bond together the National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and guarantee the continuity of the Movement and its humanitarian work. It was and will be repeated by all peoples, disregarding frontiers and rising above hatreds. Since that time, at every Conference, “Volunteer service” as one of organic principles of the Red Cross, the representatives of the Red Cross world rise to their feet to hear the solemn reading of those principles.

With the continuous expansion of the Red Cross voluntary services, no matter in wartime or in peacetime, volunteers have made great contributions to many

⁶¹ Donald Tansley: Final Report: An Agenda for Red Cross, Geneva, 1975

aspects such as helping the weak, eradicating poverty, protecting environment, maintaining social order and world peace. Besides, they have also made great efforts to strengthen the communication between government and citizens, and to make up for the lack of government and market, etc, playing an important role as “Third hand”.

It will be seen from this that the volunteer service of the Red Cross turns gradually from private charity activities at its budding stage and then to organized ones, changing from informal volunteer workers to voluntary agencies, and gradually institutionalized. Volunteer service, as a type of institution, was initiated by Henry Dunant and gradually enriched in the Red Cross movement. The Red Cross thus provides the leavening of individual charity and serves as a rallying point for the generous impulses of private persons who, it is to be hoped, will come forward, and can act with the wholeheartedness and tact which may be needed in delicate cases (Jean S. Pictet, 1979).

In addition, humanitarian law has ensured the sustainability of voluntary activities. Law, as a Code of Conduct, re-integrates the factuality and validity, so that the voluntary service has become a medium of social integration. According to the interpretation of Habermas’s “*Between Facts and Norms*” (1996), we can distinguish volunteer service of Red Cross as two legal attitudes: factual acceptance and rationally justified acceptance⁶². The former one is negative and passive because people fear the mandatory law and cannot but attend the Red Cross movement, while the latter is voluntary, conscious and willing to accept the legal constraints that imposed on us. They act for reasons of professional obligation, whereas a volunteer is impelled by his desire to help and by his feelings of sympathy. It enables dissemination, promotion and

⁶² For the two concepts, I referred to Ruan Xinbang and Yin Decheng: 《Habermas’s “communicative action” theory》, seen at 《Modern Western Sociological Theories》 (edited by Yang Shanhua) Peking University Press, 1999, Page 204-205.

sustainability of the voluntary service to become possible.

Volunteer service, as one of the seven fundamental principles of the Red Cross Movement, is an important approach and pattern to put humanism into practice. Volunteers are not only important human resources of the Red Cross actions, but also the mass basis of the Red Cross cause or movement. Every National Red Cross attaches great importance to the exploitation and use of their volunteer resources. Many countries' Red Cross associations respectively have a large number of volunteers, but also attach great importance to the Red Cross voluntary work. The 12th Federation General Assembly in 1999 adopted the "Policy for volunteer work". The 15th Federation General Assembly in 2005 reformed relevant documents and demanded to carry out the seven fundamental principles, which aimed to implement human resource strategy to improve the staff quality and strengthen the basis and management of volunteers. It can be said that whether rich or not the resources of volunteers can be used as a measure for the scale of the development degree of Red Cross Movement in itself.

In China, some scholars (Yu Hai, 1998; Deng Guosheng, 2002; Tan Jianguang and Zhu Liling, 2008) held that the voluntary movement, voluntary organizations and volunteer services, were the product of Western civilization, which could be dated to the 19th century. Yet, there have been many cultural differences between the East and the West. Therefore, we cannot apply the theory of Red Cross Develop to China. In particular, China is now in the period of social transition. With many social issues emerging, it urgently needs volunteerism and volunteer services to promote social integration and development. We need to reconsider the following questions: First, why do people participate in the volunteer service? Second, why is people's volunteer service organized? What are the characteristics of development mode of volunteer service in China?

In theory, volunteer resource is a type of non-structural resource, spreading among social members and drifting among the public domain and private domain. Volunteers' activities are public service activities that individuals participate in with spirit of volunteerism. But simply relying on the efforts of individuals, such activities are difficult to become a wide-reaching social engineering. Only by united efforts can these volunteers form a collective effort to better serve the community and society. Just as Tocqueville pointed out, people in democratic countries are independent and weak, so it is impossible for them to do anything by themselves, if they do not learn to voluntarily help each other, they will have no strength⁶³. This shows that voluntary organization is a mechanism that can result in social solidarity, and the participation of volunteers needs professional voluntary organizations. Based on Western historical experience and reality, Salomon proposed that volunteer service should be organized together to overcome market and government failure. But they rarely discuss the question as follows: How can a volunteer organization enable volunteers with different voluntary motives to unite together and then involve in the operation of agencies' public project? Compared with the government's public power and the capital markets' power to allocate resources, what do these voluntary organizations rely on to mobilize, organize, use and exploit volunteer resources?

The RCSC is an relief organization. Just as Executive Vice President of the RCSC, Jiang Yiman, emphasized at the Conference for The Red Cross Society of China volunteer service work and experience exchange in 2007 that "The Red Cross Society of China should place the focus of volunteer service on ten areas, such as emergency rescue services, health care, humanitarian aid, the promotion of hematopoietic stem cell donation, the promotion of body donation, the promotion of blood donation, the promotion to prevent AIDS, propagation of the Red Cross spirit, financing way and oversea services; furthermore, it

⁶³ Refer to Salomon: U.S. nonprofit sector, Li Yaping translation, Page 7-10.

should also enlarge the scale of volunteers in schools, communities, rural areas, enterprises and other areas, establishing responding Red Cross volunteer teams. In the big picture of volunteer service in the whole country, the Red Cross will become unique and professional”⁶⁴. Particularly, during the Sichuan “5.12” WenChuan earthquake and the Beijing Olympic Games in 2008 and the Shanghai World Expo in 2010, China’s volunteer service has met an unprecedented “blowout”. “The Red Cross Society of China has become an indispensable channel to deliver the message of the government and the Party, to quickly organize social mobilization and to carry out volunteer service”.

However, realistically speaking, volunteer services have raised some questions. For example, after the “5.12” WenChuan earthquake, “eighty percent of the public’s donations may be transferred to government finance”. Therefore, the reporter of “China Youth Daily” questioned, is “‘Chinese-style’ charity incorporated by the finance”? In response to this question, the Ministry of Civil Affairs officials responded that the public donated funds to charity organizations, but in the end it was the government who implemented the project and this was a very realistic institutional problem⁶⁵. As we know, even if the individual volunteers, under the current system, are divided into registered and unregistered ones. Volunteer service can not develop without certain institutional environments. Yet there is little academic discussion about the relationship between volunteer service and institution system, while this relationship is vital to the development of voluntary organizations. How do “Institutional issues” affect development of volunteer service?

This chapter is going to focus on the two key issues as follows: (1) how can a volunteer organization enable volunteers with different voluntary motives to

⁶⁴ Jiang Yiman: Highlight the characteristics, form the brand and comprehensively promote the work of the Red Cross voluntary service, saying at the Conference for The Red Cross Society of China voluntary service work and experience exchange in 2007, see at: <http://www.redcross.org.cn/news/20071113/6913.htm>

⁶⁵See Zhao Hanmo: April 15,2010, China Youth Daily.

unite together and then involve in the operation of agencies' public project? In other words, how does the action of the RCSC mobilize volunteers? (2) What is the relationship between volunteer service of the RCSC and the current institutional system? That is to say, how to transform the ideal into action? What are the features in the process of mobilizing volunteers to engage in humanitarian relief missions? Is there any phenomenon of "voluntary failure"? The following will make transitions of the RCSC volunteer service, and then analyse the largest number of registered volunteers, who provide volunteer service to donate blood stem cells, in the Red Cross Society of China.

2. Transitions of the RCSC Volunteer Service

The Red Cross Society is introduced from abroad. The Red Cross Society of China is the product of "graft" between its native non-profit organization and the Red Cross Society from foreign countries. Sun Yat-sen wrote in his introduction to the translation of *First Aid to the Injured* that "Each one has the heart of compassion but not everyone knows the art of rescuing lives."⁶⁶ He hoped to combine China's "heart of compassion" with "art of rescuing" from the Western world so as to form an integral entirety, and thus to promote the transition from the traditional concept of charity to the modern concept of charity. Volunteer service, as a Western "art of rescuing", has been introduced to China, and has also engaged in a large number of volunteer activities throughout different historical periods. In particular, it has experienced four stages and three transitions.

2.1 Volunteer Service Demonstrated by the Red Cross Members

The first stage is the voluntary activities demonstrated by the Red Cross volunteers, and its turning point lasts from 1904 to 1949. "Since 1904 when the

⁶⁶ Sun Yat-sen: "First Law of Red Cross Ambulance" Translation Preface "The Complete Works of Sun Yat-sen" The first volume, Zhonghua Book Company, 1981, Page 108.

Red Cross Society of China Society was first established, the Red Cross Society of China societies of all levels have been following the principle of voluntary service”. The responsible officer of propaganda department of Red Cross Society of China stated that, “Among the large number of Voluntary Service Organizations in China, the volunteers working for the Red Cross Society of China are the one who have been working in the most extensive sphere and for the longest time.”⁶⁷

But before 1949, the Red Cross voluntary service relied mainly on volunteers of the Red Cross Society to carry out voluntary service. In 1912, when the Red Cross Society of China held its first general meeting, there were only about 2000 members, by 1922 when the Second General Meeting was held, the total membership has reached over 30,000. Compared with the American Red Cross Society whose membership accounted for 60% of its population, the membership of Red Cross Society of China only accounted for no more than 0.01% of the total population.⁶⁸ The volunteers worked independently without forming any unified management system, and therefore it was difficult for them to create any social influence. Moreover, because it lacked core members and only had a few leaders, it failed to build up a long-term mechanism. In particular, it was lack of brands that had widespread influence, and also lack of standards in recruitment, training, management and incentive mechanism.

2.2 Voluntary Service Promoted by Administration

The second stage is the change from demonstration of Red Cross members to administrative assignment, which means the voluntary service is promoted by the administration. According to the results, the turning point is from 1950-1990. In 1950, the Red Cross Society of China was reorganized. In 1990,

⁶⁷ Interview material, Vice Minister of propaganda department of The Red Cross Society of China General Headquarter, 2009,B110.

⁶⁸ Zhou Qiuguang, *Red Cross Society in China: 1904—1927*, Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2008, P. 196.

the Fifth General Meeting of Red Cross Society of China was held and in the work report of this meeting, it mentioned that “the membership of Red Cross Society of China has reached 8,500,000, and meanwhile a large number of enthusiastic volunteers who are interested in working for the Red Cross Society appeared.”

When the People's Republic of China was founded, China implemented a planning system. Most of China's voluntary services were not spontaneously organized by the people, but intentionally organized by the government so as to promote the development of social service. In 1950, after a reorganization of the Red Cross Society of China, the membership already was over 300,000. By the end of 1960, it was over 5,000,000. After 1966, ten years of “Cultural Revolution” broke out, and “the Red Cross Society of China did not engage in offering services within China, and the volunteer was dismissed. As a result, the development of the Red Cross came to complete stagnation.” In 1979, the Red Cross Society of China resumed its domestic work. By 1985, the membership of Red Cross Society of China was restored to more than 1,870,000, but the voluntary service was still initiated by the government and the Chinese Communist Party. People who were mobilized through bureaucratic ways took part in the voluntary work half-halfheartedly.

“Once government's red tape is issued, we are all volunteers. The Red Cross organization is just an agency that is responsible for the implementation. Some are not even organized by the Red Cross, and other departments such as the Labor Union, the Youth League, the Women's Federation, and the Family Planning Commission etc., all set up their own volunteer associations.” A part-time cadre at the station of the community Red Cross Society said: “Party members like us all have jobs. But we are required to work as volunteer once each month, and if we fail to do that our name shall be reported to the officials. I am on duty at the neighborhood committee from 7:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. on the

10th of every month. If you ask me whether I have covered the night shift, I would say yes. While if you ask me whether I am a volunteer, I will say no. The rest of the people work here is mostly assigned by their units. If you ask them whether they come to participate in the activities of Red Cross Society, they will respond yes. But if you ask them if they are volunteers, they will say no. ... We will not come unless ordered to be here. Anyway, not every one has so much free time?”⁶⁹

During the late 90s, all places and relevant government departments throughout the country started to set up volunteer associations one after another, because the central government promoted the voluntary service activities to the level of mass activities with the nature of spiritual civilization. For example, Shanghai explicitly stipulated that voluntary service was the criterion for the evaluation of a civilized community, and proposed such specific requirements as “more than 80% residents should be organized, and more than 20% of residents should participate in voluntary service”. Such volunteer organizations virtually made the majority of people volunteers and the government official naturally become the head of volunteer organizations of all levels. The main content of voluntary service is that the volunteers should carry along with them the “three treasures” (the Red Cross kits, sewing kit, and billboards), so as to provide people living in the community with medical treatment and medicines, advocate humanitarianism and offer possible services. For example, they organized youth members of Red Cross Society to take care of family members of revolutionary martyrs and servicemen, the disabled and the elderly with no families. They must pledge to serve the same person at a fixed time in a fixed place and to take care of all the needs of the service object, such as cleaning their houses regularly, visiting them during festivals, etc.

In a word, volunteer service is mainly organized in the form of “learning from

⁶⁹ Interview material of Hubei’s Red Cross, 2009.

Comrade Lei Feng to do something good”. The daily management of volunteer organizations, personnel training, project planning and other administrative affairs, in particular, are entirely promoted by departments of the Communist Party of China or local governments, which almost have the same organization system as the volunteer organizations.

However, in this stage, an orientation of RCSC still follow the traditional and historic conception of “charity”, that is to say, individual relief, given sporadically and on a small scale. Without criticizing the action itself, but the way in which it is carried out, the authors emphasized that the old clothes approach of the Red Cross of the good old days perpetuated the dark side of charity, marked by the dependence of the receiver, who must again and again appeal to the generosity of the donor, and again and again express his gratitude.

2.3 Institutionalization of Volunteer Service

The third stage is the change voluntary services from being assigned by government to being commissioned and supported by the government. The volunteer service has returned to the spirit of voluntarism, its system is gradually improved and its services regulated. A working platform for voluntary service of the Red Cross Society has been established, and the construction of organizational structure has been emphasized, that is, the institutionalization of voluntary service. The turning point is from 2001 to 2007. In 2001, the team of Nightingale Nursing Volunteer Team was established in Nanchang. In 2007, the “Regulations for the Management of the Red Cross Voluntary Service in China” and “The five-year plan for the development of the Red Cross Voluntary Service” were promulgated and implemented. But as for the exact number of the volunteers, no thorough investigation had been conducted.

It was not until the year 2004 that the Red Cross Society began to re-register its members, and it was first time for the Red Cross volunteers to get registration.

The registered volunteers reached 400,000. In 2006, there were 846,000 Red Cross volunteers around the whole nation, and on average, there were 6.5 volunteers out of every 10,000 people. By the end of 2007, there were 1,130,000 Red Cross volunteers, with 8.6 volunteers in every 10,000 people. There were all together 14 provincial Red Cross Societies, and Committee of Red Cross voluntary Service was set up in the 4 independent-planning cities and 118 municipalities and districts. By the end of 2009, the total membership reached 25,890,000, including 154,90,000 youth members; about 1, 760,000 Red Cross volunteers, of which there were 1, 120,000 registered volunteers, most of whom were members of the China Marrow Donor Program (CMDP). That is to say, there were 13.5 volunteers in every 10,000 people. Their presence can be felt throughout all aspects of social life. The Red Cross volunteers are becoming an indispensable force for development of the Red Cross Society in China.

Unlike the development pattern of other non-governmental organizations in China, which follows the pattern of “to develop first, and then to establish management system” (Wang Ming, 2008:24), the development of Red Cross voluntary service follows the pattern of “first establishing legal and institutional support and guarantee for voluntary service, and then comes the rapid development of voluntary service”. The purpose of conducting the voluntary service is to put the “Law of People’s Republic of China on the Red Cross Society”⁷⁰ and “Statutes of the Red Cross Society of China” into practice and represent the Red Cross Society’ spirit of “humanity, fraternity and dedication”. Most Red Cross Societies in different provinces have successively issued management regulations of provincial-level and other documents, some cities also issued corresponding regulations to ensure standardized management of the voluntary service of Red Cross Society in their prefectures. In practice, the Contingent of Red Cross has gradually established a voluntary service mode

⁷⁰ <http://www.ebigear.com/news-272-57660.html>

with volunteer mainstay as the guiding force and developed a whole set of working mechanism including the recruit, training, management and award of volunteers. For example:

During their work of voluntary service, the Red Cross Society of Shanghai has formed a work system of “three-level management” (city, district, street) and “four-level service network” (city, district, street, Red Cross Service Station of Neighborhood Committee). The so-called “three-level management”, means that the Municipal Red Cross voluntary working committee is responsible for directing and planning the city’s work; the district(county) Red Cross Society is responsible for the formulation of working system, project designing, bases construction and volunteer management within the region; the street(township) Red Cross Society implements specific organizational details. The “four-level service network” refers to the fact that the Red Cross Society takes the voluntary service base of Red Cross Society on municipal, district (county), street (township) and neighborhood committee (village committee) level as a working platform to set up various volunteer teams to carry out various activities. By so doing, it forms a volunteer service pattern with both specialty and extensiveness. At present, Shanghai has built 7 hematopoietic stem cell service bases and 2379 community Red Cross voluntary service bases. In July 2005, the Shanghai Red Cross Volunteer Service General Team joined in the Shanghai Volunteers Association, bringing Red Cross voluntary services into the overall planning for the construction of spiritual civilization in Shanghai, which has greatly increased the social impact and the credibility of the Red Cross Society”⁷¹.

⁷¹ The Red Cross Society of China General Headquarter: Investigation and Countermeasure for the Red Cross Society of China voluntary service May in 2008.

2.4 Preliminary Integration of Socialization and Professionalization

The fourth stage of Red Cross voluntary service is from the offering of ordinary service which “everyone can do”, to the conducting of increasingly professional and technical services. The voluntary service sphere has changed from simple emergency relief and rescue services to ten other areas, such as blood stem cells donation, body donation, blood donation, AIDS prevention, the dissemination of Red Cross spirit, financing and solicit contributions, as well as oversea service. The turning point was China’s Marrow Donor Program (CMDP), established in 1992 and subsequently reactivated in 2001. By October 2008, the "Contingent of Hematopoietic Stem Cell Donators of Red Cross Society of China" has been established. The China Marrow Donor Program (shortened as CMDP) based on its branches in Shanghai, Beijing, Wuhan, etc has been established. It is a part of the project of Red Cross Society Voluntary Service Platform Construction and marked the preliminary establishment of a socialized, professionalized voluntary service system of the Red Cross Society.

With the institutionalization of the Red Cross voluntary service, Red Cross Society of all levels around the country relies on the guidance of “Committee of Red Cross Volunteer service”. The committee integrated the formerly dispersed teams through "guiding" and "adjusting" in accordance with their professions and service fields, so that the integration of social resources and socialization of the voluntary service organizations of the Red Cross can be accomplished. The members of these bases used to work in various administrative departments, government organizations and professional groups. The Red Cross Society of China takes all kinds of measures to attract volunteers with certain types of expertise, and train them to enhance service skills and voluntary capacity, highlighting the Red Cross volunteers’ professional services and further strengthen the extensiveness of its voluntary services. This is demonstrated

mainly in two aspects:

Firstly, it fully demonstrates the socialization trend of the Red Cross voluntary service. The socialization of voluntary service lies in two subcategories. On one hand, it refers to the increasing involvement of members in the Red Cross voluntary service. On the other hand, it refers to the construction for voluntary service bases, and the extension of voluntary service to all areas of people's lives. According to the principle of hierarchical management, the Red Cross Society of China relies on communities, schools, hospitals, enterprises and institutions to establish all levels of service platforms such as the Red Cross Fraternity Village, Fraternity Institute of Health (station), Fraternity school, Fraternity stacks , Community (village, town) Red Cross service centers, Fraternity supermarkets, medical institutions added the title of Red Cross, blood donation houses, voluntary body memorial donations and so on. In this way, from top to bottom, from cities to rural areas, the Red Cross volunteers not only carry out activities of emergency relief, helping the poor, as well as disseminating knowledge of health aid and disease prevention, but also involve in establishing new rural cooperative medical system and offer medical relief service, enabling the Red Cross voluntary service to gradually turn from the single field in the past to the extension of multiple working fields, from the unsystematic, closed mode of development to a systematic and open one. And eventually, a "Systematic Social Project of Fraternity" which puts humanitarian assistance in the core position is formed.

Another important issue is professionalization of voluntary service. The first one is professionalization of volunteers. For example, in 2001, the "Chinese Nightingale Corps of Voluntary Nursing Service", founded by three retired nurses including Zhang Jinyuan who were winners of the 39th Florence Nightingale Medal, had 1,146 nurse volunteers by 2009, and provided voluntary care for more than 100 ,000 disabled and paralyzed people in 72

hospitals and 56 community health service centers.

The second one is professionalization of volunteer service programs. The Red Cross voluntary service are mostly about disaster relief, rescue, first aid, which are mainly embodied in 10 fields such as the emergency relief, health care, humanitarian relief and blood donation, etc.

The third one is the professionalization of voluntary service management team. It is a process that transforms gradually from the mixed division, blurred stratum, and unclear specification of responsibilities at the budding stage of its development to the formation of a team with systematic division, clear stratum and clear-cut responsibilities system. From the Red Cross Society of China's response to the situations of three major events happened in 2008, namely the southern snow disaster, the Sichuan earthquake and the Beijing Olympic Games, the Red Cross volunteer service has formed a pattern of serving the whole country. The pattern is an organization network of voluntary service that takes the Committee of Chinese Red Cross Volunteer service as the guiding unit, the Committee of the Red Cross Volunteer Service at different levels as the core, the voluntary service teams divided according to their work and specialty as the main body, and the various voluntary service bases as platforms.

3. The Red Cross Volunteer Service and the Mobilization System

In theory, "Volunteer" refers to someone who works with his own free will, without external compulsion – and not necessarily one who is not paid. The founders of the Red Cross counted on disinterested assistance, spontaneous co-operation. In practice, the Red Cross is always threatened by all institutions and resources. In substance, institution is a resource. Paradoxically, it is a good thing that the Red Cross does not have too much in the way of material resources; otherwise it would be in danger of losing its soul. Of course, the

project did not seem possible except through the gathering of many people of good will. The Red Cross as a voluntary relief organization will inevitably be shaped by the Chinese social system when it wants to develop in China. The question is how to handle these challenges.

First of all, judging from the practice of the Red Cross Society of China volunteer services, we can see that the development of the Red Cross voluntary service, not only depends on the serving ability of volunteers themselves, but more importantly, depends on the social administration system.

In the era of the planning system, voluntary services were largely promoted by administrative power, and the Red Cross Society itself became a part of the executive authorities, with voluntary service and administrative action mixed together.

With the change of government functions, “government is separated from social organizations”. During the process of gradual transformation from the mixed division, blurred stratum, and unspecified system of responsibilities at its budding stage to an organization with systematic division, clear stratum and clear-cut responsibilities system, the voluntary service has achieved classification and hierarchical administration. On the national level, the Party and the government established the “Steering Committee of Spiritual Civilization of the Central Government (Civilization Committee for short)”, which functions as the agency through which the Party conducts the construction and guidance of civilization. Under the Civilization Committee is the “Steering Committee for the Development of Volunteer Service” (or “Volunteer Work Committee” for short), which is the further development and continuation of the ongoing "Learning from Lei Feng". It is responsible for coordinating social resources and providing support. On the local government level, various departments and industries have successively set up “Volunteers Working Committee”.

For example, in 1997, under the leadership of Shanghai Municipal Commission of Socialist Spiritual Civilization, “Shanghai Volunteers Association” was set up. The Party and government leaders served as director and deputy director, relevant government departments and agencies were unit members. They actively coordinated and supported the development of volunteer service, and carried out various kinds of volunteer service activities. Then there emerged many types of volunteer service teams such as “Party-member volunteers, community volunteers, staff volunteers, youth volunteers, student volunteers, female volunteers, family volunteers, elder volunteers, disabled volunteers, Red Cross volunteers, security volunteers, science volunteers and so forth.” The Red Cross volunteers, only an important part of them, should accept their guidance and supervision. It can be seen that, in such a management system, the party and government institutions still retain their leading status, especially the local party committees which have dominance over various work. Therefore, when the Red Cross Society enters the range which the Party and government attaches importance and are willing to offer support, their resources will be rapidly expanded, and the pace of development will accelerate rapidly as well. This is also why so many community causes strive to obtain support from the Party and government institutions.

For example, the predecessor of CMDP is “The donors’ information retrieval database of China’s non-blood relationship bone marrow transplantation”, whose establishment was approved by the Ministry of Health in 1992. In 2001, the health department of the government commissioned the Red Cross Society of China to restart the work of building the database. In December of the same year, the Office of Central Institutional Organization Commission approved the establishment of Database Management Center of Hematopoietic Stem Cell Donors (CMDP for short), which was authorized to be in charge of the unified management and regulations about the advocacy, organization, mobilization of volunteer donors, HLA (human leukocyte antigen) typing, and retrieving the

information of the donors who could match patients and provide transplant services. By 2009, the CMDP operates 31 provincial registries, 5 HLA high-resolution laboratories and 1 quality control laboratory. It has also reached agreements to collaborate with 6 domestic cord blood banks. The number of hematopoietic stem cell donors had developed to 1.12 million in 2009 from 6,000 members in 2002. Meanwhile, the number of bone marrow transplants (BMT) patients had also increased to 1461 cases in 2009 from 32 in 2002. At present, the CMDP has become the world's largest bone marrow donor bank.

Secondly, from the development and growth of the CMDP, we can see that the development process of the Red Cross volunteer service promoted by the government has experienced the transformation from “unified leadership of Party and government” and “direct support of party and government” to “Party and government commission and purchasing”, which tints the Red Cross voluntary service with certain “Chinese characteristics”, i.e. the driving force of political party and government have and will always occupy an important position.

The specific demonstrations are as follows: 1) the nationwide mobilization system, i.e. “a united pattern of the whole country has been established”. The Red Cross Society of China volunteers are from different walks of life, which include volunteers from a variety of ethnics and professions, different levels of education and different age groups. Its voluntary services are mainly about relief, rescue, medical care etc., and by relying on communities, schools, hospitals as well as voluntary service basis, it has extended to different areas of humanitarian relief work. For example, the Shanghai Red Cross Society alone has built 7 service bases for blood stem cell, and 2379 bases for community Red Cross volunteer service. As for professional services, it has set up voluntary service teams specialized in 10 areas, such as emergency relief, health care, humanitarian relief and blood donation.

2) it takes the government's advocacy as the driving force and the administrative organizations as the foundation. For example, in the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, the Beijing Municipal Government attaches great importance to the development of volunteer service, publicize and popularize it through the perspective of political height, the overall picture of the whole society and international affairs, making each household and person a participant of voluntary service. The Red Cross Society of China also actively got engaged in voluntary service operations.

3) volunteer service has been used as a tool for political administration, and an evaluation indicator for the government officials' performance. For example, Shanghai explicitly stipulates that voluntary service is the assessment indicator to create a civilized community, and requires that more than 80% of the residents should be mobilized; the residents' participation rate of voluntary service should read 20%, among some other specific requirements.

Admittedly, the reason for the government to promote the development of voluntary actions is mainly because voluntary service is an important way and basic approach for the citizens' participation in social management, serving the construction of the society and promoting social harmony. It plays a unique supportive, dredging, educative and cohesive role and serves as the bond of social solidarity. With the continuous deepening of reform and opening up, China's macro-institutional environment is changing from government-domination to a mode of social governance of limited cooperation, and the government's management over volunteer organizations is also changing from mainly constraining to the policy of incentives and support. The voluntary service has become another effective way to integrate social resources, besides power and market. Therefore, although the introduction of the reform and opening-up policy does not make the social change in China embark on the road of Western democracy, it transforms the relationship

between the Government and the Red Cross Society, which has changed from the rigid relationship of one dominating another to a relationship with flexible social interaction and cooperation, and forms a social administration system that “Led by Party Committee, charged by the government, coordinated with other social organizations and communities, as well as participated by the public”. Obviously, this administrative system, not only meets the needs of the government and the Party on the dominating position, but also enables Red Cross Societies to expand their survival and developing space.

However, because of the highly homogeneous structure between the Party and government departments and the volunteer organizations, the capacity of volunteers is too weak and their independent space is insufficient compared with the strong organization and mobilization capacity of the government. Volunteer service is not mainly the result of the masses’ mobilization by themselves, but of their response to the government’s mobilization. Part of the Red Cross volunteer service organizations and members increasingly consider the formal elements such as “creating momentum and focusing on advocacy” as the main task, ignoring the nature of voluntarily serving others. According to the questionnaire , “Current situations and related problems of the Red Cross Society of China volunteer organizations” shows that the Red Cross volunteer activities have at least three main problems: First, more activities but fewer services; Second, more propaganda but less effect; Third, more members but fewer backbone ones⁷². The administrative mobilization of volunteer service almost enables the majority of people to become volunteers, and the executive leadership has naturally become the head of volunteer organizations at all levels. If it should ever forget its voluntary character, just like Jean Pictet (1979) said, “the institution would be like a cut Bower and, deprived of its sap, would soon wither and die”.

⁷² See The Red Cross Society of China General Headquarter: Investigation and Countermeasures of the Red Cross Society of China voluntary service, May 2008.

In summary, a general characteristic of the Red Cross Society of China volunteer service is to closely focus on the aims of Red Cross, consciously obey and serve the overall situation of the Party and place the most vulnerable clients as the key service targets. Based on the principles of political concerns, the masses' needs and whatever the Red Cross society can do, the Red Cross societies deliberately plans volunteer service projects and carries out characteristically activities where the humanitarian relief plays the core role.

Meanwhile, every local Red Cross society volunteer service is good at learning from each other. On the one hand, they learn some practices from foreign Red Cross societies, digest and absorb, generally reproduce, and give birth to a new miracle. On the other hand, the Red Cross Society of China General Headquarters also often organizes local Red Cross societies to do mutual visits and study from each other, sum up experiences, publicize and extend the volunteer service. Perhaps the features of the Red Cross Society of China do not absolutes everything, but perfectly harmonize the merits of others by combining them with its local realistic situations. It stimulates an outpouring of spontaneous service and discloses the infinite treasures of good will. It is vital for the Red Cross to conserve this creative spirit of initiative, in the face of rigid and invasive professionalism.

4. Mobilization Mechanism of the RCSC Voluntary Service

Both the volunteer service and the government's administrative service have "public character", and the biggest difference between them is that the volunteer service is a manifestation of a person's free will, with a wide range of behavioral mechanisms. Government administration should consider all public affairs of the whole society, and treat every social member fairly. While the volunteer service is different, because it is established according to the certain purpose, therefore it can serve the specific needs of a community, an area and a

public affair. Therefore, the Government administrative service is often universal, comprehensive and macro, while the volunteer service is specific, professional and targeted.

It is because of the diverse action mechanisms of volunteer service that it stimulates an outpouring of spontaneous service and discloses the infinite treasures of good will, and may conserve some creative spirit of initiative, in the face of rigid and invasive professionalism. On the other hand, traditional conception of “contribution” is individual relief, given sporadically and on a small scale, and unsystematic volunteer service always has the problem of lower efficiency.

Furthermore, Using the voluntary character of philanthropic work as a pretext, there is too often a tolerance for indiscipline and for poorly defined responsibilities, for a confusion between the conception and the execution of a task. The result of this is a lack of authority and a very damaging dispersion of responsibilities. and certain persons, who are convinced that their unpaid work should assure them of eternal gratitude, think that they can act as they please; they do only the work which pleases them, standing apart from the administrative structure and building little empires for themselves in their chosen field of activity(Jean pictet,1979). As a result, an important question for the integrated mobilization of volunteer service is: How can volunteer organizations agglomerate the volunteers with different motivations and make them participate in the operation of the institutions’ operation of public undertakings?

From the practice of Chinese Red Cross volunteer service, we can know that the Chinese Red Cross volunteer service is the outcome of the government’s promotion, and the administration system has obviously influenced the development of volunteer service. In this way, many more people participated

in volunteer service, without complete free will. From the people who have won the series of annual “National Gold Award for voluntary blood donation”, and “National Contribution Award for hematopoietic stem cells donation”, we can feel deeply that during their participations in volunteer service, some have altruistic motives, some want to meet their own needs, and still some others are inspired by people around them⁷³

From an organizational point of view, the management system of party-government unity in China has given the government a strong mobilization capacity. As a “semi-official voluntary organization”, Red Cross Society in China often takes advantage of the administrative means to mobilize volunteers. It has adopted a policy of larger scale assistance, more systematically administered, but to adopt administrative orders to promote and manage the volunteer service, can not make participants feel the value of volunteer service, and it tend to reduce the citizens’ enthusiasm to voluntarily participation. Besides, the volunteer service is always threatened by bureaucrats.

Of course, reliance on administration or on profession to mobilize the volunteer service must not necessarily exclude one another. As is mentioned earlier, there are two transformations for the Chinese Red Cross volunteer mobilization system: First, the transformation from cohering volunteer resources through administrative orders to the social mobilization of voluntary resources; Second, volunteer service shifts from ordinary service to professional service. The problem is: how to mobilize volunteer services in China’s existing environment system? In the following part, we will take the analysis of the database of China Marrow Donor Program (CMDP) as an example.

In medical practice, the hematopoietic stem cell transplantation is currently the

⁷³ Refer to the materials of the Red Cross Society of China voluntary service working meeting and experience exchange meeting, December 2008.

most effective medical treatment for leukemia, and also provides an effective medical cure for the blood system malignant diseases, solid tumors, autoimmune diseases, hereditary diseases. Now more than 100,000 people worldwide have received hematopoietic stem cell transplantation. The China Marrow Donor Program (CMDP), also known as the Data Bank of China's Hematopoietic Stem Cell Donors (HSTD), is a non-profit organization under the umbrella of the Red Cross Society of China (RCSC). Its mission is to regulate and administer unrelated hematopoietic stem cell donor recruitment, HLA (Human Leukocyte Antigen) typing and stem cell transplantation for genetically matched donors in China⁷⁴.

The immune system of the human body is a sophisticated and highly efficient defense system, and transplantation rejection is the biggest challenge that xeno-transplantation has faced. So, to seek the completely matching donors is the key for transplantation. The opportunity to find an unrelated but fully matched donor in the mass crowd is often tens out of per million, like seeking the needle in the haystack. Here, some social problems outside the medical field took place which means to save the lives of the patients with need of transplantation, there should be a number of volunteers who understand the knowledge of the hematopoietic stem cells and are willing to donate. To better launch and organize this group of volunteers who will never hesitate to donate once they are needed is the important work for the China Marrow Donor Program (CMDP).

Admittedly, some thoughts, ideas or behaviors still exist, such as "Tell me how much money you can pay, if you want me to donate the cells?" or "Now that I saved others but who come to save me when I am in need?" In China, before 1998, voluntary blood donation used in clinical practices accounted only about 5% of all clinical-used blood, and most of the blood for clinical use was

⁷⁴See China Marrow Donor Program Annual Report, 2009.

provided by those who sold blood, which had caused much controversy, and was considered foolish. In the West, since there were blood transfusions, they have been sticking to the principle of voluntary donation without compensation. In 1998, we learned and absorbed this principle, promulgated “Blood Donation Law” and put it into practice, and then the voluntary blood donation became a fundamental principle, providing a good institutional environment for the mobilization of hematopoietic stem cell volunteer service. By 2009, the total amount of blood used in clinical practice has occupied more than 99% of clinical-used blood.

Fortunately, the Chinese Marrow Donor Program volunteers developed very fast. Registered volunteers were only 6,000 in 2002, but increased to 1.12 million in 2009. The volunteers who would voluntarily contribute their bone marrow developed from 32 to 1461 (see Table 1). And in October 2008, we established the volunteer service corps of Chinese Red Cross blood stem cell donation. In a word, they disseminate the true spirit of the Red Cross Society.

But China’s per-capita donation rate is only 0.84%, far lower than average 4.54% of high-income countries and 1.01% of middle-income countries in the world²⁹. Moreover, only one-tenth of voluntary blood donation volunteers are willing to donate hematopoietic stem cells (more than 11,000,000 people donate blood, only 1,120,000 million volunteers donate bone marrow). Our demand for clinical-use blood increases at the high speed of 10% to 15%. This shows that: to establish a stable voluntary blood donation group and to satisfy the rapidly growing demand of clinical-use blood as well as the needs of bone marrow transplantation is still faced with great pressure; therefore, professional volunteer service is needed.

Table 1 Bone marrow donation volunteers data

Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Total Number of Donors (ten thousand)	0.6	10	22	35	58	76	95	112
Total Number of Transplants (case)	32	81	200	358	583	842	1117	1461

(the author sort it out according to China Bone Marrow Bank Annual Report)

Generally, volunteers that have registered as bone marrow donors, cannot immediately contribute donation. Because they must experience a very rigorous selection process. They should primarily match the bone marrow recipients' human leukocyte antigen (HLA). There are some people who may have to wait years, ten years, decades, or even a lifetime before they can match the type, and even some cannot match anyone all lifetime. If the bone marrow donors and recipient's HLA are high-resolution matched, the transplantation begins after that. If everything goes well, they must at least go through seven stages: 1) the initial searching and selection stage; 2) the volunteers re-mobilization stage; 3) the high-resolution detection stage; 4) the volunteer medical stage; 5) the collection and related work stage; 6) the follow-up stage; 7) the donor awarding and related data management stage. Specifically, the mobilization system mainly includes the following elements:

4.1 Reshaping Organizational Identity

Volunteer service should not only be considered as individual moral action, but rather should be regarded as an organizational force, which is not only a new way of delivering social services, but it should also form an organizational identity to ensure the participation of the public. In order to maintain and strengthen regular contact with voluntary donors, they should improve the

effective utilization of storage capacity to better serve the patients. And all local warehouses around the China Bone Marrow Bank have set up “Volunteer Service Team”, “Volunteer Club”, “Association of hematopoietic stem cell donors”, “House of hematopoietic stem cell donation volunteers” and other volunteer organizations under different names. It is not only a dynamic process to organize volunteers and volunteer activities, but also an organization style in which volunteers carry out activities. Beijing Red Cross House of Hematopoietic Stem cell Donation Volunteers is one of such organizations.

“This is a warm home, which can warm everyone, especially the patients who suffered leukemia and other malignant diseases, a home with more than 180 brothers and sisters. Bit by bit, day and night, they make the Life Candle-hematopoietic stem cell donation- more and more prosperous as well as brighter and brighter, lighting up more people.”⁷⁵

Obviously, the home is an altruism-based volunteer service organization, different from those business organizations cohered together based on the same interests and also those government organizations established as a result of power distribution. The involvement of volunteers is due to the attraction of the organization itself, that is to say, it is the attraction of volunteer service that leads to group cohesiveness, rather than the personal attraction formed by the similarities, reliance and transformation among the interpersonal attributes (Turner, et al., 1987; Hogg & Abrams, 1988). In this way, it can form a new organizational identity.

The organization, borrowing the traditional concept of “home” but different from individual and organizational relationship in the traditional family organizations and units, it is not a personal attachment or mechanical subordination, but a free and democratic equality relationship. The personal organizational commitment is different from the contract of general work tasks

⁷⁵ Interview materials for Beijing Red Cross, 2009.

and a job role assigned by individuals and organizations, but is a “psychological contract” or “psychological agreement”. The demonstration of individual behavior is to voluntarily accomplish some role requirements which he/she thinks beneficial to the organization after fulfill the requirements assigned by the group role, which can be regarded as a civic virtue behavior of being helpful and dutiful. Organizational behavior is an organizational citizenship behavior (Organ, 1988).

Judging from the organizational behavior of Home of Hematopoietic Stem Cell Donation Volunteers of Beijing Red Cross Society, the involvement of volunteers is the act of “affective commitment” and they know why they serve. They stress the social significance and public significance of bone marrow transplantation. In their view, to have a strong sense of mission for volunteer service is a mission-driven behavior, which can help to form a sense of “wholeness” and strengthen the internal cohesion. Under the incentives of organizational goals that they have commonly identified, everyone makes great efforts to promote the development of bone marrow transplantation as a “membership”.

4.2 Establishing a Multileveled and Professional Mobilization System

Different from the ordinary volunteer service, the hematopoietic stem cell donation is a professional volunteer service. It is not only because hematopoietic stem cell donation is a professional service program, but also because the volunteer service demands specialization. In the process of hematopoietic stem cell donation, the true meaning of the stem cell transplantation may only need a week or so, but it may take months or even longer time to select and make preparations for the final transplantation. Excluding the objective factors such as high-resolution and physical

examination during the process from the selection to re-mobilization, the biggest obstacle during re-mobilization is the opposition of volunteers' families, relatives and friends. Therefore, the entire donation process requires various forms of propaganda and psychological counseling to improve their cognitive abilities, to expand the knowledge horizons, to reduce their horror (fear) sense, and to guide them to actively participate in the ranks of knowledge popularization and stem cell donation. It cannot be accomplished by simply relying on "administrative mobilization", but instead it demands the establishment of a professional, detailed and three-dimensional mobilization system.

Let us first listen to the telephone interviews of "bone marrow donation volunteers" in the return-visit month:

Staff: Hello, is that Mr/Miss XX?

Done marrow donor: Yes.

Staff: This is the doctor XXX from the CMDP XX station. Did you donate blood at the XX station on X date X month X year?

Done marrow donor: Yes, I did.

Staff: Do you remember you filled out an application of bone marrow donation during the blood donation process?

Done marrow donor: Yes, I do.

\Staff: the blood you donated is qualified and has been already used to treat the patients. It shows that your blood is healthy. So, after you fill out the application form of bone marrow donation, the China Bone Marrow Bank would still test your blood for your bone marrow donation. In order to reduce the go-back rate of type-matching when donation is needed, we would like to offer you another opportunity to choose, and provide you a follow-up call to further confirm your commitment again as well as to verify your information. Now can you tell me whether your have changed your idea of bone marrow

donation?

Done marrow donor: No, I didn't change my mind!

Staff: You still want to do that, yes?! Then if a patient requires you to donate your marrow for him later, will you donate it if your bone marrow is eligible?

Done marrow donor: Yes, I will!

Staff: Will you?! Are you sure?

Done marrow donor: I'm sure!

Staff: 100% Sure?!

Done marrow donor: 100% Sure!

Staff: Do your family know about your application of bone marrow donation,?

Done marrow donor: Yes, they do!

Staff: Do they support your donating?

Done marrow donor: Yes, they do!

Staff: Thank you and your family very much! Are you familiar with bone marrow donation?

Done marrow donor: Yes, I do!

Staff: You do?! Is there any question?

Done marrow donor: No!

Staff: No?! That's good! If you have any new question in the future, please call our hot-line at the blood donation center or visit the website for China Bone Marrow Bank, and you can also go to the blood donation station to ask the doctor. After that, we will review item by item and replenish additional information. Finally, it should be stressed that: Before your age of 55 years, if any patient wants you to donate bone marrow, we will contact you. To ensure that we can reach you at the first time, if your phone number or mail address has changed before you are 55 years old, please do not forget to call the application region's hot-line to notify the China Bone Marrow Bank, okay?

Done marrow donor: OK!

Staff: Thank you! Wish you a good health and a happy life. Welcome to donate blood once again. See you!

This was the telephone interviews for the “Return-visit Month of Voluntary Donors” in February 2009, a part of the mobilization process of the China Marrow Donor Program (CMDP). The purpose is to make sure that those applicants offering bone marrow understand the medical knowledge and information related to bone marrow donation, to confirm the information of the volunteers with qualified blood tests, to replenish and perfect the information, and to inform bone marrow donation applicants the means of obtaining advice and updating information, and finally, to get their solemn affirmation of commitment to bone marrow donation.

Return-visit is the most fundamental work to strengthen and maintain regular contact with voluntary donors, improving service quality, reducing service time, and effectively enhance the utilization rate of storage capacity. Therefore, to establish regular visit and greeting system for the bone marrow donation volunteers in stock is an effective means that can best minimize the loss and go-back rate of voluntary bone marrow donors, enhance the utilization rate of storage capacity, reserve resources and improve the economic and social benefits, with the purpose of strengthening the volunteers’ organizational commitment⁷⁶.

Apart from telephone interviews, the CMDP also adopted the three-dimensional mobilization modes to conduct return-visit work of voluntary donors based on local conditions, such as releasing the phone numbers of the CMDP sub-pool (and city station) through the media, visiting Websites of the provincial Red Cross or the provincial sub-pool, sending E-mail and text message, publicize mailing addresses of the provincial sub-pool, sending greeting cards, mailing postcards and carrying out seminars. They paid more attention to successful

⁷⁶ In general, the detection fee for one person is 500 Yuan, adding the fee of conservation management, data transmission, delivery and other expenses it may reach 600 Yuan. For a database of one million people, if the go-back rate is 20%, there will be large amount of money expended in vain! This is just the economic loss, but if one patient has just found the matching donor and is looking forward to rekindle the fire of life, then the news that the donor does not agree to donate is a death blow to him/her!

matching donors and always keep them in contact. They strove to mobilize every person possible in the donation, ensuring volunteers to take the initiative to donate unless other conditions happen.

Of course, the three-dimensional, multileveled and repeated mobilization modes can indeed spread knowledge of cell donations to donors and help volunteers and their families and friends to overcome the psychological horror(fear) caused by lack of related knowledge, improving the efficiency of volunteer service. In addition, volunteers participate in hematopoietic stem cell donation, pumping the blood sample, which just expresses a will. To achieve this will, i.e. to achieve the goal that hematopoietic stem cell donations to rescue patients' lives, it maybe very soon, or may need to wait for 10 or 20 years, or even never. Over time, volunteers' living environment, health condition and mind state will also change. Therefore, it still requires lasting mobilization to make volunteers maintain the will of donation.

However, this kind of overwhelming mobilization gives volunteer no place to hide or difficult for them to reject or accept. If donors are not sure about their will of donation, they are not willing when applying for donation, but are often forced to participate through collective application donation activities. This will fundamentally undermine the spirit of volunteerism. Some scholars (Ding Yuanzhu, 1999; Xu Liu, 2008) have found that different levels of passive participation in volunteer service are prevalent across the whole country. Admittedly, the way of mobilization donation is much stronger than the development of mechanisms for the voluntary donation, but it is impossible to mobilize the participants' inner voluntary service spirit and desire of volunteerism, and also is not conducive to the healthy growth of civil society.

4.3 Building a Sustainable Partnership with Government

Bone marrow donation is a systematic project which entails a wide range of

basic support. It includes testing and treatment technology, patients' physical conditions, varieties of drugs' applications, sources of healthy stem cells, and financial support, etc., all of which are indispensable. Among them, the key is to build a sustainable partnership with the government. Basically the Red Cross volunteer actions adopt the working mechanism supported by the party and the government, implemented by the Red Cross Society and operated through socialization. This mechanism itself determines that the Red Cross Society and the government department need each other, support each other and develop as a "community of interests". Different advantages makes the basis for cooperation. On the one hand, the government is willing "to regard volunteer service work as a long-term goal, putting it on top of the agenda", "to help and guide grass-roots Red Cross organizations to carry out volunteer service work, making volunteer service progress systematically and orderly". It is mainly because the Red Cross volunteer service possesses the "Red Cross" feature. More importantly, the Red Cross Society plays a humanitarian role in those situations when the government is inconvenient and unseemly to come forward, such as mobilization of blood donation, marrow donation, body organs donation and mobilizing social forces to participate in disaster relief and so on; Besides, the spirit of "humanity, fraternity and dedication" advocated by the Red Cross Society is consistent with the theory of Chinese Characterized Socialism, and the governing ideal of "Scientific Development View" (comments made by the management official of Red Cross volunteer organization).

On the other hand, the supporting policy is not sufficient. Because in China the government's decisions are mainly issued in the form of documents, but the documents are different from law, which can be operated as a non-public form. Besides, the language of these documents is also far less precise than that of law, which makes officials possess considerable room for policy interpretation without risking the potential challenge of social forces. It requires managers of the Red Cross Society to take multiple ways in order to actively seek

sustainable support from the government, and to establish sustainable partnerships.

The strategies they adopted are: (1) By inviting the NPC and CPPCC to inspect the law enforcement of Law on China's Red Cross Society, so that they can seek support from the same level of party and government leadership according to law; (2) Meanwhile, they invited the leaders of the party and government to serve as the director and deputy director, and the related departments and agencies to serve as members of the Red Cross Society, so that they can actively coordinate and support the development of volunteer cause; (3) They regularly reported their work to the leadership. "It needs direct concern of the party and government leaders at the same level, especially, it is much essential the concern of the officials who are in charge. Therefore, to make a special report to the local party and government leaders is necessary". "When they understand the historical origins, the aims and principles as well as the unique role of the Red Cross Society movement, they will respect the cause of the Red Cross, and thus will support the Red Cross Society more voluntarily."

Although the CMDP is an independent volunteer organization, the government's explicit display of their support has contributed to the construction of a supporting network of volunteer service. First of all, the government not only provides it with manning quotas , but all other levels of governments also allocated fixed or unfixed funding to the Red Cross of the district and town, with additional support to some special service activities. Since 2003, the database-building has been incorporated into the financial support projects of the national lottery. In 2008, the CMDP had financial support of RMB 86.19 million from the National Lottery Welfare Fund. In 2009, the CMDP received financial support amounting to RMB 80.18 million from the National Lottery Fund. Secondly, under the call of the party and government institutions, the Medias that were originally concerned with voluntary service

improve publicity and promotion more greatly. “As long as there is blood or bone marrow donation event, it will be strong at all levels of media publicity.” This high-density and wide-covering coverage makes the deeds of bone marrow transplantation prevalent to all people. Finally, after the enterprises and institutions are informed that the party and government provide support to the volunteer service, they also take the initiative to provide volunteer organizations with financial and equipment support for service activities. In 2009, it received additional donation of funds valued at RMB 1.5 million from enterprises, such as Hai'er Group, Johnson & Johnson Group and Sanyo Group. Only in this way can the sustainable development of volunteers of the Chinese Marrow Donor Program (CMDP) be maintained.

4.4 Enhancing Volunteers' Sustainable Service Capacity

Second to the word “love”, the most beautiful one in the world is “help”, As Bertha von Suttner pointed out, and the spirit of service is indissolubly associated with the Red Cross and is the source of its vital energy³⁸. However, in the practice of volunteer service, “it is not that we are not unwilling to help others, but that we do not know how to.” This is a question that people frequently ask when the Red Cross is mobilizing volunteers. In other words, volunteer service is not a simple provider of labor, but requires personnel recruitment, selection, training, and employment and evaluation process for the voluntary activities participants. Among them, the training - to improve the overall quality and service capabilities of volunteers – is the key to ensure the sustainable enhancement of the quality and efficiency of the volunteer service.

It will be seen from the survey materials that, the Red Cross Society of China volunteer activities are generally conducted by the project operations. It has gone through such a process: task contact, volunteer recruitment, interviewing, selection, activities, records, and summing-up, etc. These processes are often

coordinated and completed by the activity organizers. The whole volunteer activities are of powerful guidance and strong system, while individual volunteers' initiatives are kind of random although strong, with more dependence and obedience.

In correspondence to this pattern, the training activities of volunteers are primarily targeted at training for a specific program accordingly. That is to say, it will call up the volunteers when it carries out service activities, and will dissolve them at the end of the activities. Volunteers are often passively waiting for the arrival of activities, while activities with the features of discovery and spontaneity are relatively few. Because volunteers' participations are less active, the volunteers are usually "service providers" of activity, passive participants, but rarely have any opportunities to participate in the activity planning or after-activity certification, evaluation and supervision.

In contrast to this, although that bone marrow transplantation service is also operated through projects, it makes the use of time intervals between its service activities to gradually standardize the basic training of volunteers, professional training and mainstay volunteer training, with particular emphasis on the cultivation of the backbone volunteers, in accordance with the principles of hierarchical training and grading guidance. The hierarchical training refers to the training conducted by upper level over lower-level volunteers. After fully understanding the training contents of the lower-grade volunteers, they help and guide the lower-level volunteers to train the even lower-level volunteer groups.

Meanwhile, the Red Cross Society has issued a series of documents, unified and standardized four links in its work including the recruitment, training, management and rewarding of the Red Cross volunteers. Since 2007, the Red Cross Society has established a system of detailed record of volunteer service, timing, evaluation and feedback system. It has established a rating system of star volunteers with a total of five grades and twenty-five levels from the

Bronze Star to Five Star Diamond. In addition, it has enacted the “Regulations on the Management of the Chinese Red Cross volunteers”, achieving the “Five Unification” of volunteer service, i.e., the unification of marks, documents, clothing, training materials and awarding standards.

Judging from what mentioned above, the Chinese Red Cross Society volunteer mobilization mechanism is a complex entity. On the one hand it continues to build up a sustainable partnerships with government, relies on the power of government, starts from hot issues that the Party and the government as well as the masses are concerned with to actively build up a Volunteer service brand which are characterized by the unique features of the Red Cross Society and can enrich the content and form of the Red Cross voluntary service. It is exactly the respect for and cherish to China’s political system that keeps the development of volunteer service and Chinese politics in a fairly consistent direction.

On the other hand, from system designing to specific implementation measures, the Red Cross Society can be good at learning and drawing on the foreign experiences to strengthen the voluntary organization’s mission-driven behavior, to establish a multileveled and professional mobilization system, and to combine the “hour” evaluation methods with the actual situations of the local places. The volunteer service of bone marrow transplantation integrates these elements together and summarizes a “sustainable and diversified mobilization system”. Among them, there are still many imperfections, maybe its characteristics lie in the fact that it does not absolutes all things, but demands further study, digestion and improvement.

5. Conclusion

Red Cross voluntary service, although similar to the fine tradition of help those in distress, lending support to those in danger, and taking pleasure in serving

others, is a modern charity idea originated from humanitarianism. And it is also professional social service developed from the ideal of “Tutti fratelli!” (All of them are brothers).

The Red Cross Society of China voluntary service has two features (ref): the most significant one is the characteristics of Red Cross Society, and the other is the distinct Chinese characteristics.” “The 2010-2014 Development Plan for Red Cross Society of China” explicitly proposed that it will mobilize the humanitarian forces to carry out the “Red Cross voluntary operation”. The voluntary service of Red Cross Society of China, from its organization form to its content, is playing a fundamental role in working to mobilize the humanitarian forces to improve the life quality of the vulnerable groups. It has become an important part and an effective carrier of the Red Cross’ spirit of spreading humanitarian spirit, fraternity and contribution. The Red Cross voluntary service does not only offers bone marrow transplantation, but also organizes many operations such as offering relief, rescue and assistance to the needy.

In essence, the Red Cross voluntary action is an “action of reasonable value”. This demonstration of commitment in making contributions represents the fulfillment of a moral responsibility and the response to the call of moral conscience. It is a type of “mission-driven” action. The difference is under the environment of China’s existing system, the Red Cross volunteer service management system is deeply impacted by the administrative system of the Party and government, with the mobilized volunteer service stronger than completely voluntary service. Like the “product placement”, the dissemination of China’s Red Cross voluntary service is realized through such information media as cell phones, computers, the internet and TV, etc. It has been vividly integrated into people’s daily life. Just as disaster is a part of social life, the Red Cross volunteer service committed to humanitarian aid, has also become an

important part of daily life. Therefore, as long as the service is exposed to certain disaster scenes or characters' dialogue in films and television, such as the "*Tangshan Earthquake*" and "*Wenchuan Earthquake*", people can truly feel the image of the Red Cross volunteer service. Admittedly, in the process of these humanitarian aids, the people's active participation, be it passive or active, the medias' publicity, and the selection of relief projects, are all supported by the leadership of the Party and the government, especially the government' planning from the political perspective. For example, to coordinating with the preparation work of Shanghai Expo, voluntary service organizations issued the appeal of "proceed with the world, and be a civilized Shanghai residence", encouraging all citizens to actively participate in voluntary services, fostering the spirit of volunteerism, to show a civilized image of modernized Shanghai to the world.

Therefore, although the Chinese Red Cross Society provides voluntary service for the whole society, its services are all for issues that the government need to do but cannot while other organizations cannot do without the support of the government, for example the volunteer service of bone marrow transplantation. It can be said the Red Cross has performed a large number of social functions on behalf of the government. In a sense, it can endow the government with a "humanistic face", making it possible for the Western-styled democracy and market economy to play a normal role, that is, to play a role when government and market failure occur.

Although "politics" has always been a part of volunteer service, the leaders of the Red Cross Society of China have always been in a very realistic attitude towards the issue of voluntary service administration. Andrew J. Nathan (2007) described the leadership of Chinese communist party and government as having strong self-adjustment ability, which is a resilient authoritarianism. They should not only uphold the spirit of volunteerism, but also flexibly apply and combine

the principle and flexibility based on the specific circumstances of different places in different times. The way of cohering volunteer resources has shifted from reliance on the administrative forces to social mobilization, promoting volunteer service to shift from common ones to professional ones. Besides, they pay much attention to absorb and digest the experience of volunteer service abroad; slowly integrate the administratively mobilized volunteer service into the professional and socialized volunteer service system. This is what we called the "all-inclusive" nature of Chinese character.

Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

Ever since the beginning of this study, I have been puzzled by two questions. In the first phase, I find in most of the existing western literature on NGOs a universal precept that NGOs is in fundamental conflict with authoritarian systems, both in structure and function. Alexis de Tocqueville (2000) said that association based on voluntarily is the practical foundation of democracy in Western societies, Robert Alan Dahl (2006:227) has said NGOs tend to regard a regime featuring pluralist democracy as the only mode of modern democracy, and therefore represents a social restrictive power against the authoritarians regimes. Indeed, one could say that one of its key functions consists exactly in challenging the government's monopoly of power. Therefore, the relationship between the NGOs and the State is usually evaluated from a radical and revolutionary perspective, for it is believed that only confrontation and resistance can reflect democratic force. The Red Cross movement in China, however, did not emerge and grow as an anti- or counter-government power. Then what is the value of such an organization?

In the second phase, I find out that China's performances in her modernization, especially in her "open and reform" of the past three decades. It is unscrambled by other countries in different ways, such as "Chinese Model", "Chinese Road", "Chinese Experience", "Beijing Consensus" and "Chinese Characteristics"⁷⁷. An interesting phenomenon is that Western theoretical analysis characterized by its dichotomous thinking. In political study, China, as a rising autocratic country, falls into a dichotomy of democracy and autocracy. In economics discourse China is often categorized as a "State Capitalism" that state sponsored capitalism,

⁷⁷See for example, Zou Dongtao: Report on China's economic development and institutional reform No.2: roads and mode (1949—2009). Beijing: Social Sciences Academic press (China),2008. Pan Wei: Chinese model: interpretation of the People's Republic 60 years. Beijing: Central compilation & translation press.2009.

as Ian Bremmer said, “Who wins the war between states and corporations?”⁷⁸ In sociological literature the growth of China’s NGOs is attributed mainly to her “powerful state power” on the basis of its dichotomy of state and society. And all the statements above, in spite of their different focuses, are received fully affirmative China’s economic performances and the mushrooming emergence of social organizations in the course of this social transition. In the meantime, China’s economic performance in her “Open and Reform” not only supplies people with lots of economic opportunities ,but also cares and nurtures their dignity, with a weak sense of fairness.

If “Chinese Characteristics” exist indeed, then where is it in China NGOs? The answers vary widely. The controversy focuses in whether there is “NGO” at all in China. If the answer is affirmative, then is it driving Chinese society to the prospect of “Civil Society”? What is more, do the “Chinese Characteristics” in China NGOs indicate social progress in its normal sense? Is it a development mode that can be theoretically proven suitable for the growth laws of NGOs? And is it rational in terms of scientific principles?

One voice is that a large number of social organizations sprout up during China’s economic transition, but they are not NGOs in a strict sense at all. Foster (2002:62—63) said that most organizations in China are founded under the government’s coercion rather than on voluntary initiative. As a result, these organizations speak for the government other than for the members. Another view is in terms of the impacts brought about by the NGOs on the society. Edwards (2004) packed the development of NGOs and all the consequent social changes into the concept “Civil Society”. In this light, many Chinese scholars in their studies have shown that it is these organizations that are propelling China forward to the Civil Society. Some studies, concluding the “Chinese

⁷⁸See Ian Bremmer: The End of the Free Market (<http://cn.wsj.com>), November 16, 2010.

Characteristics” in China NGOs from the perspectives of “governmental or non-governmental” and “profit or non-profit”, have shown that the current NGOs, compared with those before the “Open and Reform”, exhibit apparent features of “westernization” in their structures, conducts and functions; meanwhile, the government presents more “Chinese Characteristics” in its administration manner, strategies and activities upon NGOs than before (Kang, et al.2008: :305) .

All these studies, however, were conducted from the perspective of the government’s administration behaviors rather than the behaviors of the NGOs themselves, and their depictions of the “Chinese Characteristics” in these NGOs are usually general and abstract, without concrete demonstration of its appearance and evolution. To the Chinese government, NGOs are its assistants other than opponents. Then regarding the survival and growth of these China NGOs, how have they managed to get themselves integrated into the local culture, society, politics and laws and eventually develop a survival and growth pattern with local characteristics?

This thesis has traced the development of the RCSC from 1949 to now. It has focused on two themes: Chinese Characteristics of China NGO and Civil Society. In the following, a further summary of the RCSC’ “Chinese Characteristics” will be made from the features of its movement, structure and functions, aiming at exploring the significance of the growth of the RCSC to the social development and construction, whereby to clarify what “Chinese Characteristics” are here on one hand, and on the other hand to understand the endogenetic and gradual feature of “China NGOs” evolvement in economic growth and social development.

1. Manufactured Dependency and Anaclitic Choice

The point has been repeatedly emphasized both in the RCSC’ internal files and

in its leaders' speech that "China's Red Cross cause is one part of the Socialism with Chinese Characteristics". The statutes of the Red Cross Society of China regulate that 'the aim of the RCSC, pursuant to the law, is developing RCSC enterprise with Chinese Characteristics'. Two particularities of the RCSC can be drawn from the discussion of the previous chapters:

Firstly, the RCSC, which was initially imported from the West, has totally been embedded into China's social and economic mechanism, and consequently, has been influenced by China's regime. It opened up a new developing route by combining the Chinese and the Western relief ideas, mobilizing social participation, cultivating voluntary service spirit and constantly expanding the public service space; nevertheless, it never managed to evolve into a relatively autonomous organization which could be independent from or even supervise and restrict the government; on the contrary, it has become an important part for the stability of the society and the consolidation of the political power; especially under the environment of strong policies after the "Open and Reform". It has become the right arm of the government in promoting public participation in voluntary service and in linking the public space and private space.

To insitition ecosystem eyes, the most distinctive difference between the RCSC and other NGOs is power of dismiss and appoint. The headquarter of the RCSC have no right to appoint and dismiss the leader of local branches of RCSC. the financial budget(budgetary outlays) also come from local government. The flood of money going into the RCSC is a reflection of polictical mood. Furthermore, refer to the administration of civil servants in perations management, the employee of the RCSC enjoy the treatment of the civil servant, and be frightened of losing civil servants status.

Personally, ruptured organization system and the work system have become hooked on power and money, it cannot affirm the correctness of Professor Wang Ming's prediction that China NGOs "would push irreversibly the Chinese society forward to the Civil Society" (Wang Ming, 2009:12). One concern is that the RCSC might lose its distinctiveness in its constant assimilation with the government.

Secondly, the scope of RCSC's humanitarian services has been expanded from simply emergency aid to a combination of emergency aid and development aid; its functions have grown from simply the traditional medical and health services like health and rescue training and blood donation, etc. to all aspects of social welfare, such as community development, post-disaster reconstruction, and poverty relief. The RCSC has been involved in the comprehensive social development of China, just as in the reconstruction after the "512" earthquake in Sichuan. So obviously, the development of China NGOs is a process of well-organized, well-motivated and well-planned mobilization of the societal forces to all kinds of construction in the social field.

It can be seen that most of the RCSC's humanitarian services are extensions of the government's duty when it cannot provide public services conveniently or new types of the government's service method and manner; in either case, the principal part behind all these is still the government. With the existence of the RCSC, the government presents a compassionate and friendly image; the citizens have stronger senses of satisfaction and of dignity; and the society is endowed with harmony, inclusiveness, diversity and adaptive capacity.

This shows that in the environment of forceful policies, NGOs' survival and development space is completely limited to the boundary of the state power. Grafted onto the political system, the RCSC has become the political party's

tool to integrate the society. With the socialist market economy's substitution for the previous planning system and its overall development in China, the RCSC's political traits are gradually replaced by its social ones under the influence of the social demand and the "institutional thrust". Between the government and the RCSC, a complementary and inter-embedded relationship based on respect and tolerance has been gradually fashioned in their hierarchical interactions of propelling and being propelled, strengthening and being strengthened, guiding and being guided, promoting and being promoted, as well as supporting and being supported.

A common view in the academic circles is that the existing pattern of China NGOs is the choice of the government instead of that of the society (Wang, et al. 2001). But what is worthy of emphasis is that these NGOs are not entirely unaccomplished. For example, the RCSC has never faced the "institution" and "resource" restrictions passively and negatively. In order to seek for survival and development, it actively adopted various ways to get access to and absorb all kinds of resources, urged or helped the government to take actions, and fully utilized the state authority or the implementation of government policies to realize its own goals. In this way it strives for essential autonomy.

As a matter of fact, the essence of autonomy lies in the freedom to choose. In its development, the RCSC has never been a decisive social force and it was used by various political powers from time to time. In different historical periods (in late Qing, the POC, and the PRC) and different social environments, the RCSC made difficult political decisions as a powerless force among various political forces. For example, when under the leadership of the CPC, the RCSC identified its service aim as "revolutionary humanitarian" in its early phase.

In a certain institutional environment, an organization would have the ability to ceaselessly overcome the obstructions in its operation and development and would make choices in strategies. In this thesis, the ability and the choices are

named “anaclitic choice”⁷⁹. For example, China’s “Open and Reform” made full use of the strength of the market on one hand, but resisted its temptations on the other hand. From the state domination, the RCSC mastered the principles to deal with it and voluntarily and intentionally fashioned itself into a major social force accordingly.

The RCSC’ choice is called “anaclitic choice” here for two reasons. Firstly, the service aim of the NGOs and the administration goal of the government are the same in serving for the public, promoting social equity, equality and development, ameliorating social problems, improving the quality of life, exalting individual and social welfare levels, and building harmonious living environment. As Chapter Eight shows that “with the knowledge of the RCSC’ s historical origin, aim, principles and unique functions, the government leaders spontaneously nurse admiration towards it and thus would naturally give much attention to the Red Cross movement.” So the social demand can be effectively conveyed to the state authority and then satisfied via the NGOs, which thereby can provide more effective and more far-ranging services for the whole society.

Secondly, the forceful system of resource mobilization determines the RCSC’ reliance on the government and its inevitability to comply with the institutional arrangement, which results in impairing its due dependence and autonomy. For example, Chinese voluntary service is not provided completely out of people’s free will but as a result of the government’s mobilization. The RCSC’ service, therefore, is not simply voluntary, and it is not merely for the benefits of the members but, more importantly, for the interests of the government.

However, it is unfair to arbitrarily deny the nature of impure voluntary service as voluntary service. In the light of the management system, the mechanism of Chinese voluntary services is undoubtedly defective. Yet according to China’s

⁷⁹ So called “anaclitic” refers to relationships that are characterized by the strong dependence of one person on another.

current national situation, the government, compared with NGOs, possesses irreplaceable superiorities in maneuvering social resources, implementing social policies, steering social development, and formulating all kinds of regulations for social security and social welfare, etc.

Actually, it will be detrimental to the social development either to completely rely on the state and ignore the social force or to overly emphasize the “withdrawal of the state” and pure voluntary service. A valid institutionalized combination of the government and the social force will be an ideal choice to propel social development.

The survival logic of NGOs under the circumstance of forceful institutions is based on being mutually beneficial, and it is not a zero game. Instead, it ceaselessly converts the “alien power” into its driving force through mutual adaptation, mutual adjustment and mutual cooperation when confronted with challenge; the results of the cooperation is to achieve “win-win” rather than to kill rivals. As a result, a double relief constructor is formed. So it can be seen that the autonomy of an organization is based on its dependency and “non-resistance” autonomy is exactly the primary characteristic of Chinese humanitarian service.

2. Hybrids: the RCSC of “Chinese Characteristics”

Two points are emphatic behind the notion “Chinese Characteristics”: firstly, it is socialist by nature; secondly, this socialism is specifically characteristic of China, rather than that of any other model, neither democratic socialism in Europe nor that of former USSR. The notion, “Chinese Characteristics”, in essence, comes out of a contrast of China’s system mainly with that of the Western countries, which are actually not exactly the same among themselves. France’s system is different from that of Germany, and the USA’s from that of UK. It is iffy to distinguish a system by simply labeling it as “Democracy” or

“Autocracy”, as “State” or “Society”, or as “Market” or “Government”, because the boundary between each pair is not as distinct as expected and their antagonistic incompatibility is also not absolute. They actually tolerate each other and achieve evolution by learning from each; in fact, they do not necessarily exclude each other and many overlaps can be seen in them.

The perfect or ideal assumptions of “market”, “government”, “autocracy”, and “democracy” are theoretically remade or expanded. They can only exist in a de-socialized space, in which people’s activities are artificially separated into political one, economic ones and social ones. In this way, “social ties” disappears in the analysis. Some scholars pointed out that, the notion of “market” in Adam Smith’s “The Wealth of Nations” contains complicated relations among ethnics, economics, commerce and civilization⁸⁰. The greatest contribution of Granovetter consists in his proposal of “embeddedness”⁸¹. In my opinion, the RCSC can be understood as being “embedded” into the overall social interactions of China, profoundly influenced by her political, economical and cultural activities.

Therefore, anfractuous relations among ethnics, politics, economy and civilization also exist in China’s Red Cross movement, which means, the only access to a full understanding of the distinctiveness of the RCSC is through learning the social environment, cultural condition and institutional foundation on which it survives. Concisely speaking, “Chinese Characteristics” in Red Cross movement means a pattern of survival and development. This pattern richly bears the social, cultural and institutional features of China; and on the basis above, under the guidance of the “appreciating learning” mechanism, it ceaselessly borrows, absorbs and digests advanced experience of other cultures;

⁸⁰ See Tribe, Keith. “Natural Liberty and Laissze Faire: How Adam Smith Became a Free Trade Ideologue”, in Stephen Copley, Kathryn Sutherland (editors) *Adam Smith’s Wealth of Nations: New Interdisciplinary Essays*. Manchester University Press, 1995.

⁸¹ Granovetter, M. “Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness.” *American Journal of Markets*.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 23, 1997, p. 351. And, Granovetter, M. “Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness.” *American Journal of Sociology* 1985, 91(3), pp. 481- 510.

and it is organized and integrated by the government through political forces.

2.1 Social Foundation of the RCSC

According to Chapter Two⁸², the RCSC did not originate in China. Instead, it was imported from the West and grew in a transitional period from the old to the new which was filled with fierce collisions between China and the West. At that time, ancient China in monarchy was transforming into a modern constitutional democratic country and she was confronted with the aggressive invasion of the western powers like the UK, the USA, Germany, and Japan, etc.; especially in 1904 when Japan and Russia started a war in Northeast China. The awareness of national revival was kindled by the grave national crisis; the drastic social changes thereafter destroyed the former social order and structure; the social issues like refugee problem and poverty elicited by wars kept deteriorating—all these created a good opportunity for the Red Cross movement to expand into China, who began her “impact of the West” paradigm since the early twentieth-century.

After the foundation of New China in 1949, the CPC established a framework of socialist system by launching “socialist transformations” to agriculture, handicraft, industry and commerce. In 1978, China began its “Open and Reform” policy and welcomed the outside world with open arms. China has again followed the “impact of the West” paradigm.

Interestingly, thanks to its superb adaptability, the RCSC, rather than withers away, has been growingly thriving and prospering for over a century. In an unstable social circumstance full of uncertainty, the RCSC reveals extraordinary adaptability which is based on its learning power. Its constant learning makes it never align itself wholly with either western or Chinese fashions in the aspects of identity feature, resources constitution, management system, service field

⁸² Chapter 2.

and activity manner. So it is a synthesis of Eastern and Western elements.

2.2 “Culture Context of Humanity”

The so-called culture is the symbols and norms that are rooted in the organization, and identified by the members of organization. “Humanity”, as a symbol and norm, is rooted in the social environment of China and, together with the other symbols and norms approved by the society, is attached to such symbolic values and norms as “accumulating virtues” and “retribution”. As a result, a “culture nexus of humanity” is formed.

Attitude varies towards humanitarianism in different cultures. According to John Naisbitt and Doris Naisbitt, (2009), there exist two culture perspectives: the Western countries hold “universalistic” perspective, believing that some “truth” or “values” are indispensable parts of human’s basic condition of existence; the other one is “particularistic” perspective, advocating that what suits a certain culture is particular and only those that suit are right. In other words, each society has to decide what suits itself. John Naisbitt and Doris Naisbitt(2009) regard Chinese culture as a particularistic value. The discrepancy between China and the Western world in Cultural perspective can be reflected in their dispute over humanity and human rights.

It is noteworthy that, universalistic value is not isolated but consists in the particularistic value. Divergence does not necessarily lead to opposition or denial of the universalistic value of “humanity”. For instance, if Chinese Buddhism was assessed by the standards of Indian Buddhism, then it could not be called Buddhism at all. But the truth is that the Indian Buddhism has vanished while Chinese Buddhism is still alive. Therefore, there exists no universalistic value when isolated from particularistic one; meanwhile, it is unfair to be hostile to China’s unique cultural value just for her divergence from the “universalistic value” in “humanity”.

China, as a unified multinational country with a history of thousands of years, has formed a Chinese nation and Chinese culture both featuring “pluralism in unity” in her development⁸³. The most prominent characteristic of this culture of “pluralism in unity” lies in its “compatibility and inclusiveness”, that is, the ability to learn and absorb what is beneficial. Exactly under the influence of such a culture, China has been constantly learning from others in thoughts, viewpoint, and method, etc. She applies these into her development practice and solution of problems and constantly transforms processes, expands and modifies these learned stuffs. So it is apparent that this culture is an open and absorptive culture that can coexist with other ones.

The survivor technique of the RCSC vividly reflects this point. The Red Cross idea—originating in Switzerland and beginning to spread around the world only in the late 1800s—has by now been fully incorporated into Chinese conceptions of social and medical welfare. Caroline Beth Reeves(1998) examined the local penetration of the Red Cross ideal in China and particularly studied how the Red Cross idea was adopted and adapted by Chinese philanthropists, citizens, and officials.

Rather than viewing it as simply a Swiss idea, Chinese of all walks of life accepted the Red Cross concept as international and Chinese simultaneously, resonating indigenously, transcending its Western origins. As Chapter Four shows, humanitarian spirit has been incorporated into the Chinese context by analogies and confluences of the indigenous conceptions of “accumulating merit” (Ji Gong De).

2.3 Institutional Context of the RCSC

Moreover, a combination of different norms and regulations has two characters.

⁸³Fei Xiaotong: the pattern of diversity in unity of the Chinese nation, Minzu University of China press.1989.

They are: coerciveness and absorptiveness. Many scholars just emphasize its coerciveness, i.e., the norms and regulations made in coordinating the moralization of institutions with the institutionalization of morality. Institution involves a process of continual social learning; institutional transformation under a social transition refers to a conversion of its regulation system. As Chapter Five shows, the RCSC has such a deep symbiosis with power. The RCSC, a product of the expansion of modern civilization having born the structural characteristics of the Western social organization ever since its foundation, has not only adopted the management structure of the Red Cross organizations in the Western countries, but also developed a way to rationalize its system in a relational structure where the state power makes all decisions; Examples are as follows:

The Board of the early Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross Society was chiefly comprised of Westerners⁸⁴, whereby to learn the successful experience in the western Red Cross Society for the groundwork for China's own Red Cross course and meanwhile to provide a better rescue service in the war. Later, with the purpose to maintain its independence, the Red Cross organization adopted a management structure in line with the western "tripartite" political system, which lasted merely for a very short time due to the disunity and continuous wars caused by separatist warlord regimes. But it was bequeathed to the social organizations in China as a valuable legacy.

An interesting phenomenon can be seen in the management structure of the RCSC after the "Open and Reform": many directors in the RCSC are simultaneously the secretary of the Party group or of the Party branch. Why is there Party organization in a NGO? As Chapter Six shows⁸⁵, the RCSC serves

⁸⁴ Note: Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross found in 1904 in Shanghai. Its board of directors made up of 45 representatives of Chinese, Britain, France, Germany and the United States of America, which Chinese have 10 represents among them, the rest are western countries. There are 7 executive directors, include 5 directors of the west, then Chinese director. English is the official language. Meaning that, the west holds a leading post, and Chinese played a subsidiary role.

⁸⁵ Chapter 6.

as an extension of the government function in the field of humanitarianism, some activities of which are considered inconvenient for the government to get involved directly. In return, it manages to get access to resources unavailable for other NGOs. Enjoying a direct connection with the State Council, the RCSC undertakes humanitarian activities in the name of NGO and evolves into an organized force with a composite structure. Obviously, the development of China NGOs does not proceed within the nature and scope prescribed by scholars. Actually, the institutional environment serves as the basic factor in shaping the structure and function of an organization. The autonomy of an organization is not merely determined by its possession of resources, but also its institutional framework. And more essentially, the resources are also allocated according to institution.

As Chapters Five and Six shows, in line with the social transitions, the absorption and evolution of the Red Cross spirit in China chiefly includes three stages: the Graft, the Replacement and Transfer, and the Reinvented. (1) The first stage was before 1949 when, under the guidance of the social elites, the western humanitarianism was grafted into China's traditional charity system; (2) the second stage was in 1950. The government launched a reform to the old management system of the RCSC, modifying its role and philosophy, and changing or transferring its organization structure, behavior features and operation mode. As a result it was transformed from a Non-government organization gradually to a semi-government organization or even an affiliate to the government; (3) the third stage began from 1999 until now. It is an overall reinvention launched by the RCSC itself in the aspects of agency compile, administration of organizational establishment, personnel appointment and appropriation of operation expenditure, etc. And thus it initiates an independence-oriented reform process in the management system, which on the one hand keeps the former management method of the administrative organizations, on the other hand introduces new management elements like

comprehensively strengthening the Party’s organizational construction and more importantly, actively promoting humanitarian philosophy and awareness of voluntary service. These three stages represent the process of domestication of the foreign NGOs in China. It is the humanitarian spirit that links the domestication of general value and the generalization of domestic experience. During China’s social development, in which relations and social position plays a vital role, very few NGO could have linked the Eastern and Western cultures. The RCSC has realized it and created three composite patterns including the embedded inherited relational network, the embedded created relational network and the embedded accrete relational network.

The RCSC’ Three Hybrids Organizational Patterns

Style of hybrid	Way of construction	Time	Social ties
guided by social elite	Graft	Before 1949	the embedded inherited relational network
guided by the government	Replacement and transfer	Between 1950s and 1999	the embedded created relational network
guided by the RCSC themselves	Reinvented	After 1999 to present	the embedded accrete relational network

As the reform increasingly deepens, it is inevitable for the government to grant people with more public space so as to make them have stronger sense of satisfaction and dignity. In this process, a suitable institutional system is requisite. In this sense, the humanitarian service provided by the RCSC reflects not only a value philosophy but also an institutional arrangement, and moreover, not only a principle and a norm but also a state and a result.

In sum, the RCSC, as an exotic thing transplanted from Switzerland to China,

has managed to be rooted in China and cast a profound and lasting influence on social system. Chinese tend to attach to the Red Cross its own interpretation, which reflects the “Ji Gong De” (accumulating merit) theory, the important conventional humanitarian ideas of China. To some extent, it is just like Mermaid of Denmark, Androsphinx of Egypt, or Dragon of china. Androsphinx possesses a human’s face and a lion’s body; Mermaid, a piscine body and a pretty girl’s face; a dragon is even more multi-elemental, which includes camel head, snake neck, deer antlers, tortoise eyes, fish scale, tiger palm, eagle claws and ox ears. The commonness shared by the all above is that they are all a synthesis of many different creatures, which are put together because of a certain ideal or totem of people. From the fairy tale, one can draw inferences about an ethnic group’s myths, historical records and customs. It was believed that certain natural objects or animate beings have a blood connection with their ethnic heritage.

The RCSC with “Chinese Characteristics” is like a baby mixed with Western and Chinese blood (hybrid/mestizo). This blood-mixed being—especially that of Communism mixed with capitalism— may fall anywhere between these two extremes. And the descriptions in the previous chapters are essential to the Chinese Red Cross cause and are able to contribute to the RCSC development. In the meantime, the RCSC is very similar with the western NGOs in its autonomous organizational structure, diversity and socialization of the origin of its resources, expansion of activity space and voluntary service, etc. Therefore, China’s Red Cross course is one part of the International Red Cross movement as well as part of the “China’s Socialist Course with Chinese Characteristics”. Then what links the “western features” and “China’s Socialist system” together? Why and how are these seemingly incompatible elements linked together?

3. Institutional Cooperation

Andrew J. Nathan (2007) said, the Political System of China is a resilient authoritarianism, with strong self-adaptability when faced with social transition. This, actually, displays merely one part of the whole picture.

This study has traced why and how the RCSC has operated as from a governmental appendage to an independent organization, and it has also revealed the ambiguity of that relationship with the government and enterprises before and after 1949. Personally believing, the key motive behind this is to create a structure based on institutional linkage or institutional cooperation via a functional coordination with the RCSC imposed by powerful “institutional arrangement”. This study has focused on five themes: fund-raising, autonomy, relationship, space and voluntary service. From fund-raising to service: humanitarianism works as the linkage and core.

3.1 Strong Institutional Environment and Social Needs

This cooperation is a linkage imposed by strong institutional environment, which means the establishment of a “powerful government” with tremendous “political strength”, as defined by Huntington (1988), under the leadership of the “powerful political party”, the CPC. According to the opinions of 105 native experts and questionnaire answers of 1000 common people collected by the “The People’s Forum” in 2010, ten most representative political strengths of China can concluded as follows:

China’s political system, with powerful organizing and mobilizing capability, can conveniently focus the whole nation’s strength on great enterprise; the CPC’s strong leadership can guarantee the process of reform, development and stability; the theory of “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics” provides a definite direction for the advance; the tight connection between the CPC and the

public can not only maintain the correctness of the political direction but also stimulate the public enthusiasm; the inclusiveness of the political culture facilitates a better absorption and reference of the civilization fruits of the other countries; the system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation, different from the Western systems of political party, can contribute to the stability of the regime and continuity of policies; the socialist democratic system with Chinese Characteristics, combining consultation democracy and election democracy, allows the citizens' organized participation in the political decisions; an organic unity of the CPC's leadership, the people's legal position as the master of the state and the rule of country by law can be realized; a stable and orderly political environment can be provided for the economic development; there is a commendable tradition of ideological and political work. (Xin Ming. Guarding the Foundation of China's Political Strengths. *The People's Forum*, 2010, (11).)

In such a strong institutional environment, the political intervention in different forms and to different degrees can be found embedded in all NGOs, which, different from Granovetter's "thin embeddedness" (1985:91), acts like Zukin & DiMaggio's "strong embeddedness", i.e., (1) structural embeddedness; (2) cognitive embeddedness; (3) cultural embeddedness; (4) institutional embeddedness (Zukin & DiMaggio, 1990:15--20). As Chapter Five, Six and Seven show, the RCSC is embedded by the strong institutional environment in its organizational structure, and its direction and choices of behavior are greatly influenced by this force. The state creates institutional convenience for the RCSC to mobilize resources and manage the organization as well as its service and allows the growth NGOs; moreover, it readjusts the order of voluntary service and refashions the humanitarian belief and values in unique and possibly implicit ways. The state offers an institutional framework for the existence of the RCSC, while the RCSC provides humanitarian service to consolidate social stability. This cooperation eventually leads to a combination

of the humanitarianism of politics space and the politics of humanitarianism space. Embeddedness follows the logic of exchange to shape each other's motive and expectation so as to enhance their coordination and adaptation (Uzzi, 1996: 61), the peculiarity of which rests with the involved beings' expectation to establish long-term partnership rather than immediate interests.

The "strong institutional environment" facilitates the linkage of the humanitarianism and China's traditional social culture, while the social needs makes it possible for the RCSC to learn, imitate, and even integrate the western NGOs' management system, resources makeup, service scope, behavior manner and function, etc., which results in the similarity of the RCSC with the western NGOs in its organizational features (structural feature, resources mobilization, decision and behavior manner). As Chapter Seven shows, the voluntary service with Chinese Characteristics lies in that it neither blindly rejects nor mechanically copies the Western ways; instead, it resiliently absorbs useful elements from all institutions and recreates them into a new one with Chinese Characteristics. This is the formidable absorptive capacity of Chinese Characteristics.

The RCSC' road of "learning from the Western countries" is realized by the "demand pull" and the "institutional drive" derived from social transitions.

The Chinese Characteristics can find its origin from "made in China". Other than the material and cultural products of all varieties, China also brings about people with multiple traits, and thus multi-elemental social and cultural structures. One typical reflection is the collapse of "unit system" and the mercerization of the social security function formerly undertaken by the government. In its reform focusing on its function shift, the government is unwilling and also powerless to handle all the social problems ensued. Then there appears a huge gap between the direct supply of the government and the immediate demand of the society. Under such a circumstance, a large number of

novel non-government organizations have emerged in China providing social services of all kinds.

In the meantime, the social transition and the shift of the government function create the requisite institutional environment for the NGOs' survival and development; and especially the improvement of the political and legal environments institutionally drives the growth of the social organizations. Before the legislation of the "Law of the People's Republic of China on the Red Cross Society" in 1993, the RCSC was attached to the administrative department of health for many years, with regional Red Cross branches working as an office of the local health departments. This arrangement mixed the social organizations up with the political units and thus hindered the RCSC from functioning as an independent humanitarian organization with its basic principles. But when disastrous events happened, the society asked for a greater function from the RCSC, whose actual scope did not match the specification in the Red Cross statute that "people's organization of medical aid". On October 30, 1993, the "Law of the People's Republic of China on the Red Cross Society" and the "statutes of the Red Cross society of China" were issued and implemented; so were some other official rules and regulations including No. 85 file, "The Proposal to further strengthen the RCSC' s Job" (Issued by State Office (2004)). It is obvious that the strong social demand makes possible the RCSC' development while the strong institutional environment designates the boundary of its service scope. So the development of the RCSC is the necessity of country's construction as well as the answer to social appeal.

Compared with the western NGOs, the associational activities and achieved independent public sphere are not openly negotiated between the RCSC and the government. In the case of the RCSC, it operates in perfect cooperation with the government and therefore formed an institutionalized structure of cooperation.

On the one hand, the series of regulations like the "Law of the People's

Republic of China on the Red Cross Society” formulated and issued by the government as well as the set of off-the-record but mutually approved behavior rules formed in the RCSC’ interaction with the government has laid the foundation of their cooperation, with the government determining the fabric of their relationship. On the other hand, the RCSC, the predecessor of the RCSC, has never tried to break away from the government’s control, or to resist its authority. Conversely, it has been constantly soliciting the Central or Local government’s involvement since 1904, making it a supervisory role. The “Chinese Characteristics” of the RCSC is its deep government involvement, for it functions as the government’s “assistant” rather than “opponent”. In both war rescue and people’s relief service, the RCSC works together with the government for the humanity under their mutually beneficial relationship on the premise of adhering to seven basic principles and to the CPC’s leadership.

Both the institutionalized cooperation and the institutionalized participation, in the strong institutional environment, are undoubtedly asymmetric. The RCSC admits and utilizes the power of the government to create a new style in conforming to the requirements of the social culture. In many cases, it also carries out the government’s policies and thereby realizes its institutionalized participation from bottom to top.

3.2 Humanistic Paradox and Politics of Humanistic Service

Theoretically, there exists a tension between politics and humanitarian service, for the former means power and control while the latter means free will and autonomy by nature. As individuals, the members in the RCSC may inevitably have their own political attitudes, but as an organization, the Red Cross Society is supposed to stay neutral and even beyond politics with its basic principle. However, in China, a State of political saturation, neutrality is not an apolitical characterizer, and isomorphism is a constraining process. The humanitarianism can not resist political penetration.

In reality, however, humanitarian movement does not have a distinct, exclusive boundary. Actually its sophistication determines its intervention with politics, society, economy and culture. And moreover, humanitarian issues often involve and affect the state sovereignty, international politics, economy and culture. Therefore, the humanitarian problems cannot be solved solely in humanitarian way. For instance, the refugee problem, as a humanitarian issue, can not be solved without political measures.

Coexistence is considered impossible of humanitarian aid, purely based on voluntary spirit, and politics, completely relying on powerful control, and meanwhile, humanitarianism cannot survive without political support, which brings about the humanistic paradox.

Since the humanitarian problems cannot be fundamentally solved via civil society or from-bottom-to-up social participation, the only feasible strategy available is to establish an institutionalized framework of cooperation with the government. By integrating the humanitarian problems with other public policies with the government's authority, a mechanism is formed of mutual restriction in structure, mutual support and propelling in function. This seemingly contradictory assertion is reasonable in reality.

Firstly, China's institutional environment provides possibility for such cooperation. In the west, the government, the state and the political parties are independent notions to a large extent: the state is in charge of formulating rules; the government implements these rules, and within a span of time, several political parties take turns to run the government. But in China, the government functions as the sole center of the country while the CPC is the center of the government, which means that the leaders of the CPC inevitably play a central role in the state. The NGOs' survival and development will be greatly affected by these leaders' statuses, social positions, attitudes and relationship with these organizations. As Chapter seven shows, the expansion of the RCSC' "public

space” is closely determined by its own leaders’ political status and relations. The “relations”, established in RCSC’ leaders’ compliance to and utilization of the regulations, plays a vital role in the development of this organization. “Relations” are the utilization of the regulations.

Secondly, humanitarianism and politics may need each other. On the one hand, the government compensates the deficiency in its service and thus dispels challenges as well as objection of various kinds via its cooperation with the RCSC in the social development under its guidance; on the other hand, the RCSC, thanks to its cooperation with the government, not only successfully handles its shortage of resources but also wins its legitimacy.

It is thought that the RCSC is independent, but in fact a lot of political manipulation still goes on. As Chapter Six shows, the RCSC has developed a political pattern of dealing with humanitarian issues in its interaction with the government. Its dominant feature can be concluded as cooperation based on division of labor, i.e., it remains adherent to the government politically, organizationally and ideologically but assumes different responsibilities in function and in obligation. This is different from the cooperation based on separation and restriction of powers, which aims at guarding the interests of different groups through check and balance. The cooperation based on division of labor does not seek for resistance against the government but changes its pattern and attitude of service. It is not a denial of politics, but instead, it reflects politics in its humanitarian service, thus creating a humanitarian politics with “Chinese Characteristics”, which is embodied by three basic forms: national politics, class politics and livelihood politics.

(1) Since its introduction into China, the Red Cross movement has been linked with “national politics” reflected in war rescue, which served primarily as an opportunity for it to have entered into China during her national crisis and as a principal line for China’s Red Cross movement. For instance, Japan and Russia

provoked a war on Chinese land in 1904 and wounded many Chinese civilians, who had no access to any salvation even though it was prescribed that the wounded would be looked for by the Red Cross Societies of the involved countries in the war²⁷. So “national consciousness” managed to be strengthened under aggravated national crisis and became a powerful force which finally converted a feudalistic state into a national state. “Compatriotic affection” becomes a forceful means of mobilization social resources by the RCSC. The Red Cross movement in China has continued to grow and flourish by nationalism.

(2) Class politics originated from China’s class confrontation in the first half of the 20th Century, when the Kuomintang and the CPC got involved in the civil war, and humanitarian aid bore distinct political tendency. This tendency actually still existed for a long time after the foundation of New China which could be reflected in the guiding principles of the Red Cross Society at that time —“healing the wounded and rescuing the dying, conducting revolutionary humanitarianism”. The so-called “revolutionary humanitarianism” means in the elimination of the exploiting class, the people in that class, except for few crime-ridden ones, should be led to earn their own living by their own labor. In the practice of socialist construction, the goal to realize liberty and freedom for all people as well as the New China’s efforts to provide unemployment benefits, control drug abuse, eliminate prostitution, wipe out pests and diseases and protect labor all reflected revolutionary humanitarianism.

(3) Livelihood politics, as the most important politics in current China, is to protect the interests of the majority and to promote social harmony and stability. As the reform increasingly deepens, it is inevitable for the government to shift its effort from how to help its citizens to survive to how to make them have stronger sense of satisfaction and dignity. So the humanitarian service, concerning safeguarding people’s dignity and protecting people’s fundamental

rights, has born a strong political implication.

In a word, the RCSC and the politics are positively interactional, and constantly evolve together in the senses of time and space, thus forming a “symbiosis network”. The political trait of their interactional relationship and of its mobilizing pattern determines that the RCSC has to be affiliated to the government instead of being equal in their partnership. This relationship reflects the existing situation of all NGOs in China.

4. Social Infrastructure in Social Construction

As has been discussed previously, the RCSC has always been involved in a complicated linkage with politics in its development. On the one hand, its relief service is always closely connected with the transition of political institution and bears keen political acumen. Its “survival and development technique” is the cunning exploitation of loci of power in the realm of humanitarianism places, such as inviting the NPC and the CPPCC to inspect its performance, striving for the support of the Party and administrative peers through following legal procedures, holding special reports to the local Party and administrative leaders at each level of regional Red Cross Society each year in order to arouse their direct attention.

On the other hand, all the presidents of the RCSC’ is transferred from the administrative departments of the government. “The leaders in the government are invited to hold a concurrent post in the RCSC as its president or honorary president”. The identity of its chief members is regulated in reference to that of civic servants and their roles alternate between the government officials and the NGO staff. Therefore, although the RCSC rationalized its system in 1993 and has gradually withdrawn from the government administrative system, the state still put its ruling will into effect in the RCSC by way of Party member recruit, leader appointment and dismissal, and resource allocation. So a mechanism of

“revolving door” can be seen in the relationship between the RCSC and the government. As Chapter Seven shows, the RCSC has expanded service space from emergency assistance to development aid. The Red Cross Society of China does not always operate as a governmental appendage. As the right arm of the government, the RCSC shakes hands with the visible hand.

Meanwhile, in its cooperation with the government, the RCSC wins some power or privilege in the state affairs, which is protected by law (“Law of the People's Republic of China on the Red Cross Society”). This privilege can be called “Nonprofit franchise” just like in its blood service where the RCSC secures financial support from the government and, more importantly, its monopoly position, which allows it to realize effective communication and concordance with the state power. Depending on the state power, the RCSC manages to provide more effective and more extensive public service for the whole society, functioning as one important part of China’s social infrastructure. Being a powerful mix with linkage between the public activism and the national sphere the Red Cross Society of China flourishes.

Certainly, the RCSC, as a part of the social infrastructure, chiefly undertakes the responsibility to maintain communication between the government and the public, which helps to remove the mysterious flavor of politicians, strengthen the humanitarian note of political behaviors, promote the public involvement in politics, and thus consolidate the social harmony and stability. This structure, however, also has its limitations. It is felt that the RCSC is too close to the government and too far away from the public and that it cannot virtually satisfy the public demand to get involved in voluntary services in spite of its “autonomy” and its mechanism of “revolving door” which realizes its access to all organizational, authoritative, and political, social resources. The public trust in the RCSC derives from their trust in the government. Once the government is found untrustworthy, the RCSC, under the shelter of the government, will find it

hard even to survive.

In the light of the social development, the state and the civil society represent two different forces and provide two different roads for the NGOs with contrasted merits and demerits. The former road is under the leadership of the state and displays its predominance in institutional construction and resources mobilization; the latter is led by the society and presents superiority in autonomy and the expanse of social participation. It can be seen that “government malfunction” easily occurs in the former case while the latter may lead to “NGOs malfunction”. So an equilibrium point should be found between them so as to optimize both.

5. Limitations and Expectation

As we look retrospectively at the eight chapters about the RCSC, this study has discussed the RCSC’ rationalization of its structure, its pattern of mobilizing resources, its flexible handling of its relationship with the CPC, its strategies of expanding its space of public service, and its operation of voluntary services “of Chinese Characteristics”, etc., all of which offer us a direction and a vision towards Civil Society.

The RCSC is an alpha NGOs in China, absolutely occupying dominance in its influence scale, its size of full-time personnel and its relief power in providing public service and satisfying social needs, for it embodies the general value, and more importantly, it realizes its goal through cooperation with the government.

Undoubtedly, not all NGOs can enjoy so much favor from the government like the RCSC. In the Chinese society under the Socialist principles and the leadership of the CPC, it is also unlikely for the RCSC to obtain independence and autonomy in purely theoretical sense. In the western scholars’ view, the RCSC still remains a social organization under the control of the government and of the CPC and its operations can merely be conducted within the confines

of the corresponding political institutional system. Compared with that of the West, the most fundamental nature of China's political system is its CPC leadership in an institutional system taking the people as the master of the country. It means that any NGO, in order to survive and develop, must possess an organizational structure compatible with that of the CPC.

The American voluntary organizations, according to Alexis de Tocqueville (1956), have made great contributions to the American democracy. As Putman (1995) proposed, the participation into voluntary service can greatly boost people's civic awareness⁸⁶. Then to what extent does the RCSC virtually represent the interests of its members, reflect the will of the people, and conduct social supervision on the government? Has it advanced civic liberty and participation or reinforced the basis of democracy? Has the Red Cross movement promoted the participants' civic awareness and involvement degree? No definite answer is available due to the lack of quantitative survey data.

But from the perspective of a Chinese, the RCSC, though still under the control of the government, has not been the same as previously. From the analysis of the previous chapters, it is quite clear that the RCSC seeks for opportunity to strengthen institutional linkage with the state power and authority, and "promotes collaboration and partnership for generating equity by articulating community needs and social aspiration"⁸⁷ (Jay Satia, 2007:3), although it will be a long way ahead.

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⁸⁶ Putnam, R. D. 1995, *Making Democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy*, Princeton University Press

⁸⁷ See Jay Satia:2007, *Civil society and society development: a quest for balanced society*, see "civil society and re productive health in China" by Gu Baochang Zheng Zhenzhen Liu Hongyan and Liu Shuang edited, social sciences academic press(China).P3—14.

Appendices

Table 1. RCSC Participant Observation

Number	Activity time	Activity site	Activity name	Focus of participant observation
1	1-May-2008	RCSC Hubei Branch	Pay a visit to RCSC Hubei Branch	the existing organization and working procedures
2	23-May-2008	RCSC Hubei Branch	The Hubei registry of the China marrow donor program	working procedures
3	15-August-2009	RCSC(Beijing)	meeting of the "cherishing life" group of Volunteer team	mobilization of Volunteer
4	20-October-2009	RCSC(Sichuan)	Emergency Response	working procedures
5	17-November-2009	RCSC Shenzhen Branch	HIV Propaganda and Prevention	Activities Planning
6	1-May-2010	RCSC Hubei Branch	Red Cross Youth	Activities Planning
7	3-October-2010	RCSC Shenzhen Branch	Fundraising	working procedures and skills
8	5-October-2010	RCSC Shenzhen Branch	Health Care	working procedures
9	16-October-2010	RCSC Hubei Branch	Community Service	working procedures
10	22-November-2010	RCSC Hubei Branch	Blood Stem Cell	Mobilization procedures and skills
11	27-November-2010	RCSC(Beijing)	Red Cross Dissemination Activities	working procedures
12	19-june-2011	RCSC Hubei Branch	Humanitarian Aid	Activities Planning

Table 2. RCSC Interview

Number	Interview time	Interviewee	Interview site
1	26-April-2008	RCSC Hubei Branch the Executive Vice President Mao Sanyuan	Red Cross Society of China Hubei Branch
2	6-May-2008	RCSC Hubei Branch the Executive director Li Rong	Red Cross Society of China Hubei Branch
3	12-August-2009	RCSC(Beijing)Deputy Secretary Zhao Yi	Red Cross Society of China (Beijing)
4	15-September-2009	RCSC(Beijing)Deputy Secretary Jiang yiman	Red Cross Society of China (Beijing)
5	24-October-2009	RCSC Sichuan Branch the Executive director Mr. Zhang	Red Cross Society of China (Sichuan)
6	13-November-2009	RCSC(Shenzhen)Deputy Secretary Chen zhuang	Red Cross Society of China Shenzhen Branch
7	10-May-2009	RCSC(Shenzhen)Department of relieve Wang Yueping	Red Cross Society of China Shenzhen Branch
8	24-May-2010	RCSC Hubei Branch Department of Fundraising Zhao Gang	Red Cross Society of China Hubei Branch
9	23-October-2010	RCSC Shanghai Branch the head of the office Mr. Chen	Red Cross Society of China (Shanghai), phone interviews
10	18-October-2010	RCSC Suzhou Branch the head of the office Mrs. Wang	Red Cross Society of China (Suzhou), phone interviews
11	25-November-2010	Profession Ci Zihua	Suzhou university (Suzhou), phone interviews
12	26-November-2010	RCSC (Beijing) Department of Fundraising executive director Li Liyong	Red Cross Society of China (Beijing)
13	30-November-2010	Profession Zhou Qiuguang	Hunan Normal University (Changsha) phone interviews
14	5-May-2011	RCSC (Beijing) the Propaganda Department Lei suming	Red Cross Society of China (Beijing)
15	17-june-2011	RCSC Hubei Branch executive director Mr. Zao	Red Cross Society of China Hubei Branch

Table 3. Fundraising Analysis (2006)

Rank	Government allocation	Domestic donation	Domestic donation of material	Overseas relief fund	Foreign aid material	The membership fee	Other income	Sum total
The RCSC	12558	16994	8906	3618	0	28	2092	44196
The RCSC of provinces and cities	11640	6045	17123	1228	380	85	606	37106
The RCSC under the level of provinces and cities	14845	35514	17148	1146	1952	1392	2942	74940
Sum total	39043	58553	43177	5992	2333	1505	5640	156242

Source from: The RCSC statistical data in 2006.

Table 4. Fundraising Distribution Analysis (2006)

Rank	Government allocation	Domestic donation	Domestic donation of material	Overseas relief fund	Foreign aid material	The membership fee	Other income	Sum total
The RCSC	28.4	38.5	20.2	8.2	0.0	0.1	4.7	100/0
The RCSC of provinces and cities	31.4	16.3	46.1	3.3	1.0	0.2	1.6	100.0
The RCSC under the level of provinces and cities	19.8	47.4	22.9	1.5	2.6	1.9	3.9	100.0
Sum total	25.0	37.5	27.6	3.8	1.5	1.0	3.6	100.0

Source from: The RCSC statistical data in 2006

Table 5. Fundraising under the Level of Provinces and Cities
Analysis (2006)

Rank	Government allocation	Domestic donation	Domestic donation of material	Overseas relief fund	Foreign aid material	The membership fee	Other income	Sum total
The RCSC	32.2	29.0	20.6	60.4	0.0	1.9	37.1	28.3
The RCSC of provinces and cities	29.8	10.3	39.7	20.5	16.3	5.6	10.7	23.7
The RCSC under the level of provinces and cities	38.0	60.7	39.7	19.1	83.7	92.5	52.2	48.0
Sum total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source from: The RCSC statistical data in 2006

Table 6. Fundraising Analysis (2007)

Rank	Government allocation	Domestic donation	Domestic donation of material	Overseas relief fund	Foreign aid material	The membership fee	Other income	Sum total
The RCSC	29339	12323	10182	9373	0	48	2511	63776
The RCSC of provinces and cities	12253	16090	30365	599	223	79	193	59801
The RCSC under the level of provinces and cities	18946	41534	23917	773	869	1369	2939	90347
Sum total	60538	69947	64464	10745	1092	1496	5643	213924

Source from: The RCSC statistical data in 2007

Table 7. Fundraising Distribution Analysis (2007)

Rank	Government allocation	Domestic donation	Domestic donation of material	Overseas relief fund	Foreign aid material	The membership fee	Other income	Sum total
The RCSC	48.5	17.6	15.8	87.2	0.0	3.2	44.5	29.8
The RCSC of provinces and cities	20.2	23.0	47.1	5.6	20.4	5.3	3.4	28.0
The RCSC under the level of provinces and cities	31.3	59.4	37.1	7.2	79.6	91.5	52.1	42.2
Sum total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source from: The RCSC statistical data in 2007

Table 8. Comparison between 2006 and 2007

Major target	2006	2007	Change tendency %
The sum total of each kind of fund income (Ten thousand Yuan)	156242	213924	36.9
The income of Average per person gross (Yuan)	1.2	1.6	33.3
The percentage of government allocates funds to account for the gross income funds	25.0	28.3	3.3
Domestic donation	37.5	32.7	-4.8
Domestic donation of material	27.6	30.1	2.5
overseas relief fund	3.8	5.0	1.2
Foreign aid material	1.5	0.5	-1.0
Membership fee	1.0	0.7	-0.3
Other income	3.6	2.6	-1.0
The percentage of general meeting's income accounts for the gross income funds	28.3	29.8	1.5
The percentage of provinces and cities level income account for the gross income funds	23.7	28.0	4.3
The percentage of below the provinces and cities account for the gross income funds	48.0	42.2	-5.8

Source from: The RCSC statistical data in 2006.2007.

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